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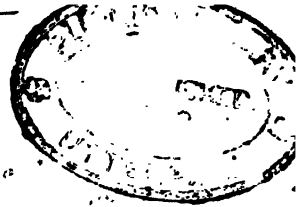
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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY 1, 1914

## ANGLO-INDIAN LIFE BEFORE THE MUTINY

By FRANCIS H. SKRINE, I.C.S. (RETIRED)

STEAM power and electricity have practically halved the world's superficies, bringing Japan and New Zealand nearer London than India was sixty years ago. At that period the process of shrinkage had scarcely begun. Most outward-bound passengers rounded the Cape in Green's splendid sailing vessels, and those who dreaded a four months' voyage had to pay dearly for the speedier transit offered by the P. and O. "John Company," enthroned in Leadenhall Street, treated their Eastern Empire as a close preserve for relatives and friends. Anglo-Indians constituted a caste, speaking a jargon of their own, and possessing interests apart from those of their fellow-countrymen. Public feeling was sometimes raised to fever pitch by news of victory or reverse in Afghanistan and the Punjab. Lord Dalhousie's annexations fanned the flame of incipient Imperialism, and the optimism of his utterances on laying down the sceptre led to the delusion that British rule in the East rested on sure foundations. For the man in the street that mysterious realm was the breeding-ground of an army of hypochondriacs, some of whom had shaken the pagoda-tree with advantage to themselves, while the rest were chiefly occupied in nursing a disordered liver. There is a story to the effect that William Makepeace

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Thackeray joined the Oriental Club in Hanover Square in order to pick up local colour for his "Newcomes": that he became aware of a constant rumbling there, as though some heavy vehicle were passing in the street, and eventually traced it to the wailing of old Indian members who objected to the quality of the Club curry!

The cataclysm of 1857 came as a bolt from the blue. I well remember a Sunday morning late in June, when the congregation, leaving church, were told by a well-known Peer that despatches had come announcing a general slaughter of English folk by rebellious sepoys. The blank consternation caused by his news left an indelible impression on my childish brain. England's heart was, indeed, more cruelly wrung by tales of slaughtered women and children than it had been by any phase of the death-struggle with Napoleon. Public indignation became unreasoning frenzy—witness Tenniel's lurid cartoon in *Punch*, with its motto, "O God of Battles, steel my soldiers' hearts!" While the fate of Empire hung in the balance, India was, so to speak, discovered by home-staying Britons; and their thirst for further knowledge produced a flood of literature—if the word applies to countless volumes describing life in the East. Most of them have long since sped to the limbo that awaits all work turned out in a hurry and in response to sudden demand. But the delver among these ephemerides occasionally lights upon a really human document, which relates, in simple language, the impressions made on a tourist by Anglo-Indian life on the eve of a mighty cataclysm.

Of such is "The Timely Retreat," by Evelyn and Rosalind Wallace-Dunlop, which went into a second edition in 1858. The sisters had been reared in an Anglo-Indian atmosphere. Relatives galore had returned from Bengal with competent fortunes, their home was crammed with outlandish curios, and Indian affairs supplied the staple conversation in the family circle. It was only natural that young and ardent spirits should feel the

call of the East; and when a civilian brother stationed at Meerut hinted that the girls might just as well help him to keep house for a year or two, as follow beaten tracks in the old country, his invitation was accepted with alacrity. One finds it difficult to realize the sensation excited in the Wallace-Dunlop clan by this daring verdict: the farewell parties given by friends; the bets registered for and against the tourists' return. It is still more surprising to learn that a brace of visitors to India encumbered themselves with many tons of luggage, including fifty-two frocks apiece; and timed their departure so as to reach tropical latitudes at the outset of the hot weather. Many a misfortune arose from these blunders, and the latter nearly proved fatal to two young lives.

The outward voyage is described with considerable humour, heightened by naive caricature portraits of the girls' fellow-passengers. But a theme so threadbare need not detain us for long. Early in February, 1856, the venturesome pair sailed from Southampton in a paddle-boat of the P. and O. fleet. On reaching Alexandria they took rail to Cairo, and crossed the desert in mule-drawn vehicles resembling bathing-machines. At Suez they embarked in another paddle-steamer, swarming with cockroaches, and set foot in Calcutta on March 23, 1856.

As scions of the Anglo-Indian aristocracy the Wallace-Dunlops were welcomed by a family friend, whose mansion graced Chowringhee, a thoroughfare aptly styled the "Park Lane of Calcutta." They were deeply impressed by the grandeur of their host's establishment, and compared the course of an evening to Hyde Park, with great sailing-ships anchored in the River Hughli alongside in lieu of the pleasure-craft that skimmed the Serpentine at home. Calcutta was then "a city of pale-faced queens," whose costume lagged six months behind Paris fashions, and whose conversation smacked of parochialism. The girls were bored to extinction by the professional "shop" that formed its staple; they groaned under the espionage and

tittle-tattle of local society, and failed to understand the flutter in Calcutta dovecots caused by the news that two female "griffs," *anglice* "newcomers," intended to travel nearly 900 miles up-country without an escort. For residents in the Metropolis, the Mofussil, or, as we should say, the "Provinces," was a *terra incognita*, inhabited by exiles whose plight excited pity and contempt.

As the East India Railway extended no farther than Raniganj, a distance of 120 miles, the remainder of the journey had to be made in four-wheeled vehicles of the "growler" type, drawn by a pair of ill-fed ponies. After lengthy correspondence, our heroines contracted with the North-Western Transit Company for conveyance between Raniganj and Meerut. Their cherished finery was consigned to a bullock-train, which might arrive at its destination in six weeks' or two months' time. On reaching the railway's Ultima Thule, their troubles began with a vengeance. Horses were changed every six miles, and at intervals of twenty-four they halted at a "dák bungalow," or rest-house, maintained by Government in the absence of private enterprise. Their tedium was relieved by the prattle of two young officers who joined forces with them; but Londoners reared in the lap of luxury needed all their philosophic outfit to endure the hardships of travel. The dák bungalow menu never rose superior to grilled fowl, known as "sudden death," because the skinny biped that supplied it was always picking up sustenance in the purlieus when carriages drove up. Unbridged rivers had to be crossed in crazy ferry-boats, whose sooty Charons tried to levy blackmail in mid-stream. Tigers and dacoits were known to haunt the jungly tracts traversed by the Grand Trunk road. A sharp attack of fever, arising from exposure to the burning sun, came as a climax to the sisters' misfortunes, and they reached Meerut in sorry plight.

All the proper names in their narrative are travestied beyond recognition. Meerut becomes Doorghur; and the brother who ruled that district as Magorhâte, figures under

the alias "Keith." If he was a fair sample of the Indian civilian in pre-Mutiny days, one of the causes of that cataclysm leaps to light. It was a complete loss of touch between English officials and the teeming population for whose welfare they were responsible. "Keith" had a positive horror of natives. He declared that he could detect the copperish smell of the colouring matter in their skins the instant they entered the room, and would sooner be touched by a toad than by one of their clammy hands. Even Christmas, with its message of peace to men of goodwill, called no truce to his rooted antipathy. At that season Indian notables follow a graceful custom of despatching *dhātis*, or baskets containing fruit, vegetables, sweetmeats, and flowers, to the houses of Europeans of rank. They are generally accepted in a friendly spirit; the poor coolies who bring them are sent away with a rupee as *bakshish*, and the donor's heart is rejoiced by a note expressing thanks. Keith was probably ignorant of Talleyrand's cynical but common-sense maxim: "If you wish to attach a man to yourself, let him do *you* a favour." He would never allow a *dhāli* to cross his threshold on the plea that it indicated a lively sense of favours to come. His sisters were highly amused by the eagerness with which the staff of the police station used to tumble out to render obeisance to the *Bara Sahib*; but he always cut short their salutations with a few hasty words, and rode onwards with his nose in the air. The glories of Indian art excited this philistine's contempt. "He had such an aversion to everything native that he would scarcely have walked ten yards to see the most beautiful mosque." That survival from the Tribal Era, which is falsely styled "sport," was Keith's one absorbing passion. His sanctum was crammed with the skins of slaughtered beasts, recalling Fenimore Cooper's descriptions of the Red Indian's wigwam.

It must be admitted that Keith's official duties left him no leisure to cultivate the unbought graces of life. After a long morning's work at the desk at home, he left at 10 a.m.



for Court, where he toiled without any interval for luncheon until 7 p.m., or even later. And much of the work undertaken by a District Chief in those days must have been the merest routine. Keith had no well-trained staff of British and Indian subordinates, each placed in charge of a branch of his office and responsible for its efficiency. The principle of specialization was unknown, or at least never applied. In order to divine the causes of the Great Rebellion, we must glance back on the history of Indian administration.

When a company of English merchants who were out solely for pecuniary gain found themselves compelled to grasp the sceptre of rule, they tinkered feebly with the legal and revenue systems inherited from the Moghal predecessors. Each district throughout Upper India had a European chief, who was supposed to control a horde of corrupt subordinates. But the Directors' main object was to reduce working expenses, in order to declare high dividends on East India stock. They thought to compass the end by allotting nominal salaries to their European servants, and allowing them the privilege of private trade. It is always perilous to place a man's personal interests in opposition to those of the community. District chiefs were, of course, more concerned in lining their own pockets than fulfilling public duties. Many a "Factor," who figured in the Company's books as in receipt of a salary of £300, retired to England with a fortune of £100,000 and upwards before he had reached the Rubicon of forty. The result of this purblind policy was a serious loss of revenue; and the Marquis Cornwallis was despatched to India as Governor-General in 1786 with a mandate to carry out drastic reforms in the Civil Service. That great statesman knew that English Judges had been corrupt and subservient until their salaries were raised to a point which placed them above temptation, and he argued rightly that the best paid servants are generally the most efficient. The Company's officers were therefore forbidden to embark in private trade, or accept any emoluments beyond their Government

pay, which was increased to an amount sufficient for all reasonable expenses. But the counting-house heresy that working cost must be kept down led Lord Cornwallis to starve his establishments. To each district, with an average area of 4,000 square miles and half as many million inhabitants, there was given a "Magistrate," charged with criminal functions, and a "Collector," for realizing the Government revenue. The subordinate staffs were ridiculously small; and the enormous amount of routine work devolving on these high officials precluded them from keeping in touch with Indian opinion. This train of causation bulked largely among the incidents which led up to the Mutiny of 1857, and yet it has never received due attention from historians.

So much for the master: his abode was a huge one-storied edifice consisting of a centre with wings. The first was occupied in a drawing-room seventy feet long, and a dining-room to match. Scanty furniture, whitewashed walls, and a ceiling sustained by teak rafters gave the state apartments a somewhat cheerless appearance. On either side were bedrooms, entered by curtained doorways. During the hot weather every communication with the external glare was hermetically closed at sunrise; gloom overspread the whole house, and its silence was broken only by the creaking of punkahs. In and out the rooms a host of bare-footed servants flitted noiselessly; there was an uncanny suggestion of "eyes everywhere," rendering privacy impossible.

Our authoress' description of the "long, long Indian day," proves that Anglo-Indian customs have altered for the better in half a century. Doctors have at length discovered that the fever-breeding *Anopheles* is most vigorous during the hours preceding dawn, and forbid their charges to leave the shelter of mosquito curtains until the soil has been warmed by solar rays. In 1856 early rising was a fetish. European soldiers mustered for parade at five, in the morning, after fortifying their constitutions with a dram

of ardent spirits. These English maidens "went one better." At 4 a.m. the ayah aroused them from fevered sleep; they donned riding-habits by candle-light, and sallied forth without partaking of *chota haziri*. The "little breakfast" of eggs, tea, toast, and fruit is now so firmly established that one is startled by learning that Keith set his face against that harmless, necessary repast. In his opinion, *chhota haziri* was a vice from which half the prevailing liver-complaints originated. So the luckless sisters were content with a morsel of bread and a glass of water before commencing the daily round. Then they mounted a pair of pot-bellied ponies for an hour's canter on the Meerut Racecourse. At half-past five they returned to bed and the punkah's fitful breeze until nine, when they bathed and dressed for the day. The weary hours before breakfast were spent in inditing notes to Meerut acquaintances, for no Indian servant can be trusted with a verbal message other than *salām*, meaning "many thanks." Breakfast was a movable feast—nominally 9.30, but often deferred for an hour by Keith's unpunctuality. It invariably consisted of fish, curry, rice and *dhal*, or boiled pulse. Keith had probably never heard of Brillat-Savarin's famous maxim—"Animals feed, man eats." During four years of bachelordom he had subsisted entirely on fowl cutlets. The first repast despatched, he started on foot for Court, defended from the sun by a white umbrella and portentous pith helmet; and behind him marched a train of orderlies, each carrying a despatch-box full of papers. His sisters were then left to their own resources for the day.

A senseless custom, which is not yet extinct in India, decreed that morning calls should be paid during the hottest hours. When the station-gun proclaimed the hour of noon, a procession of male visitors began, which lasted for two hours. The utter inability of Indian servants to render European surnames compelled each caller to herald his entrance by a visiting-card. But as the young men came in groups, identification was fraught with difficulty.

The sisters gave great offence by alluding to subalterns in sepoy regiments as "native officers," and remarked that army doctors always cultivated fiercer moustaches than their combatant comrades, and talked more consequentially about "the Service." At two o'clock the stream dried up automatically, and tiffin was announced. It differed from dinner only because fish, flesh, and sweets appeared simultaneously on the table.

After luncheon most Anglo-Indian ladies used to enjoy a siesta in their bedrooms, but our heroines were too brimful of European energy to adopt so lazy a custom. They read such ancient novels as the station circulating library afforded, perpetrated Mid-Victorian horrors in fancy-work, or strummed on a tuneless piano until 6 p.m., when the servants let in hot blasts from outside by throwing every window open. Afternoon tea had not come into fashion, although it was usual in "upper circles" at home at least a decade earlier. The sisters, therefore, dressed for their evening drive without partaking of the cup that cheers. The Racecourse, with its umbrageous avenues, was a rendezvous for Meerut society between 6.30 and 7.30. A crowd of carriages might have been seen around the bandstand, where waltzes and operatic airs of the previous season were rendered by the musicians of every regiment in turn. Rigid silence prevailed among the company, and Meerut was quite scandalized by the laughter of a bevy of subalterns, whose curiosity impelled them to mild flirtation with the Londoners. At length "God Save the Queen" gave the signal for homeward flight and preparation for dinner.

That meal was a replica of tiffin, except that each course appeared separately. It was consumed in silence, Keith being too exhausted to vouchsafe a remark. Sometimes a *bara khana*, or dinner-party, broke the monotony of existence. The graceful Russian custom of covering the table with fruit and flowers had not penetrated Anglo-India. Gargantuan profusion was the rule, and the

hospitable board groaned under its load of dishes. Some of these culinary efforts must have destroyed what little appetite survived the effects of tropical heat. Miss Eden, who came out to keep house for her brother, Lord Auckland, half a generation earlier, described the loathing excited by a dish of snipe placed before her at some Vice-regal banquet. It was a pyramid of tiny corpses, with their shining skulls symmetrically arranged outside. Carving was more or less deftly performed by the person nearest to a smoking joint. Every guest brought his own servant, and he who came unattended might starve in the midst of plenty. The *khitmatgars* would attend to no one except their particular *sahibs*. They clustered in a crowd round some popular dish, struggling for a portion of it; and another contest raged round the pails wherein champagne reposed in ice, which had been gathered from shallow pans during night-time in the brief cold weather months, and stored in pits for use in the dog days.

At 10.30 the sisters retired to their sleeping chamber, where two beds, draped in mosquito curtains, were as an oasis in a wilderness of Calcutta matting. If no blood-sucking mosquitoes penetrated the meshes of the flimsy enciente; if no jackal outside broke silence with its blood-curdling yells—they fell into a troubled slumber. It was generally broken by a sense of suffocation, arising from the sudden stoppage of the punkah. The sleeper awoke, bathed in perspiration; and as the peccant punkah coolie was squatting on the veranda outside, she had not the resource of hurling a boot at his head which was open to Anglo-Indians of the sterner sex. The “wee sma’ hours ayont the twal,” sung by Robert Burns are most propitious to sleep in the tropics, for then the thermometer sinks below 100°; but, alas! at 4 a.m. the ayah’s nasal voice aroused her young mistresses from sweet repose.

Sunday came as a welcome break in daily routine. In other stations custom permitted English-folk to enjoy a “Europe morning” on the seventh day by lingering in

bed till breakfast-time. At Meerut attendance at church soon after dawn was obligatory. Every British regiment marched to public worship behind its band, which played the latest waltz, but stopped abruptly at the sacred edifice. The congregation then took their allotted places with a tremendous clatter of swords, and service began. Punkahs waving overhead had a somnolent effect, and allowed worshippers only fitful glances of the pastor in his reading desk or pulpit. Choral singing was unknown, and everyone squalled or bellowed the hymns at his own sweet will. Ritual received a minimum of attention, for the priest's one idea seemed to be to get through the service as quickly as possible. A generation or so earlier the inbred materialism of our race had been mitigated by the saintly Bishop Heber's example; but things of the Spirit were again ignored after his too early death. The clerical establishment was recruited from an inferior class of curates at home, whose utter worldliness simply killed enthusiasm. For instance, a military chaplain was compelled by regulations to visit the hospital once a day. One of these worthies used to drive up to its gate and ask the orderly-sergeant whether his services were needed. That officer invariably shouted, "Any spiritual consolation required to-day?" and when nothing but groans arose from the row of beds within, he reported, "No spiritual consolation is necessary, sir"; whereon the *padri* wended his way to the club for a game of billiards.

The insularity of these little British communities was as marked as their contempt for intellectual pleasures. Each group formed a watertight compartment, rigorously closed to any fellow-creature who showed a trace of the "tar-brush," *anglice* "Indian blood." Half-castes, as they were contemptuously styled, were uniformly treated as pariahs; it is passing strange that the entire Eurasian community should have joined men who heartily despised them in fighting the Mutiny. No echo reached English ears of the dissatisfaction that seethed in the vast Indian population, and was

destined soon to burst into an orgy of fire and blood. Beyond the scope of official duty the only Indians with whom the average European came into contact belonged to the menial class. The servant difficulty was not so acute as in our day, when industrial competition has raised wages by 250 per cent. ; but it existed nevertheless. At remote military stations an offending menial was sent to the barrack-master with a note describing his misdeed, and he might calculate on a severe flogging. This resource was not open to masters or mistresses at Meerut, for the proximity of courts of law exercised a wholesome check on systematic brutality. But complaints of dishonesty were rife, and occasionally followed by personal chastisement of the offender. *Dasturi*, literally "customary" deductions from bills paid by a servant, constituted a serious tax. The butler of a district magistrate was known to have amassed £3,000, though his wages had never exceeded 28s. a month. It must have been the prospect of illicit gains alone that tempted Indians to take service in a European household ; for their position was almost intolerable. Ladies regarded Hindustani as a "frightful jargon," and never mastered more than half a dozen words. If they wanted anything, they stamped angrily, and said, "*Lao !*" (Bring it!) They met excuses by the injunction, "*Jao !*" (Go!) a command which, thanks to the servant's acuteness and his respect for British obstinacy, generally had the desired effect. Yet these despised creatures showed incredible patience in dealing with the spoilt English children who swarmed in every station ; they were the tenderest nurses in illness, and very many of them proved true as steel at a time when their quondam masters were hunted like wild beasts.

It may be urged in excuse for the exiles that the deadly boredom of existence was apt to provoke violent outbursts of temper. Men had the resource of regimental duty or office work ; they could smoke, play billiards, whist, and racquets in a well-appointed club ; the Mess afforded

comparative luxury at small expense. Their wives and sisters had no such relief from the daily round of station life. Europe, and indeed the hill resorts, were almost inaccessible until steam-power attained its full development. Perchance, too, Englishwomen sixty years ago had a stronger sense of duty than their descendants possess. They reared many children on the plains, and clung with wifely devotion to their husbands. It is the fashion to look back with contempt on the Mid-Victorian female, with her narrow outlook on life, her armoury of obsolescent prejudices, her tendency to become a doormat. But we must in common justice credit her with many a countervailing virtue. Mutiny annals recount the exploits of Havelock, of Outram, of Nicholson, and of Hodson, they are wellnigh silent regarding the staunchness, patience, and moral courage evoked by dire misfortune in many a forgotten heroine. God grant that their granddaughters may prove in coming times of stress that they, too, are scions of an imperial race! But woman's power of bearing daily torture was sometimes strained to breaking-point. A poor creature stricken down by deadly fever expressed positive thankfulness on learning that her life was despaired of. The bond of union between wife and husband was, indeed, closer than at home, because they depended on each other for a modicum of happiness. The misfortune was that climate had so enervating an effect that men felt the sorest bereavement less acutely than their home-staying colleagues. A dying wife knew too well that her helpmeet would do his best to replace her within a year after she had been laid in the ghastly station cemetery. It is on record that one of these widowers wooed and won a charming girl within sight of the tomb of his devoted wife!

Convention was the bane of Mid-Victorian society, although most sensible people think that the pendulum has swung too markedly in the opposite direction. Sixty years ago it was deemed improper for ladies to attend an auction. The younger Miss Wallace-Dunlop excited general reprobation.



tion by appearing hatless in public after a severe bout of illness. Yet our authoresses, who chafed against the rule of Mrs. Grundy, were themselves her bondservants. They complained bitterly that unmarried girls were allowed to indulge in the wildest pranks—although in sooth the instances given are innocent enough—while matrons, however young, who overstepped the dignity of their status by a hair's-breadth, became the victims of universal censure.

No human being can defy Nature with impunity. The irrational mode of living adopted by the sisters brought its nemesis in the shape of an attack of fever which led the younger one to death's door. There was nothing for it but an immediate flight to the Himalayas; and the little family undertook a toilsome journey by palanquin to distant Landour, a military health-resort perched several hundred feet above gay Mussoorie. After some weeks' sojourn in a glorious climate the roses returned to Rosalind's cheeks, and she was able to accompany her kinsfolk on a hunting expedition among the hills. Of game there was little or none; but the girls greatly enjoyed their long picnic in a tract remote from *soi-disant* civilization. They journeyed back to Meerut with a renewed stock of health.

It became quite a different place during the brief Indian winter. Society was a perpetual whirl of dinner-parties, dances, race meetings, and jackal hunts. A not unwelcome diversion came with the visit of the Bengal Commander-in-Chief. He belonged to the patriarchal brigade. In 1856 the Indian Army List included among Generals in the active list men who had fought the French Revolution and Napoleon; nay, there were Methuselahs whose first commission dated back to 1781! The military magnate who came to inspect Meerut drove into the station in a humble four-wheeled cab, surmounted by his easy-chair and the huge brass washing-basin which then formed an inevitable part of an Anglo-Indian's travelling kit. In honour of his arrival every officer donned

the stiffest of stocks and the most highly-polished of boots; cavalry men practised a newly-imported sword exercise with ferocity; parades of every unit recurred daily, and proceedings terminated with a grand review, which must have reminded the sisters of a famous episode in "Pickwick."

With the advent of the Indian dog-days our heroines resolutely set their faces homewards, causing a feeling akin to dismay in the heart of many a male admirer. Keith attended them during part of the journey, albeit that he grudged every moment spent away from his official docket. At Delhi they were most hospitably received by the British representative at the court of the phantom Emperor; destined so soon to be massacred with the rest of the English population. He little recked his impending fate, although the writing on the wall should have placed him on his guard. Our authoresses were deeply hurt by the rudeness of Delhi shopkeepers. Even while customers were cheapening their wares, these ruffians used most insulting expressions in Hindustani *sotto voce*, compelling the young officer who piloted the visitors to insist on their leaving the shop forthwith. Their impressions find ample corroboration in the narrative of two American tourists who visited Delhi just before the Mutiny.

English folk, however, were, and are, woefully lacking in imagination, which is rarely developed by the education they receive. We have seen that Anglo-India lived in a little humdrum world of its own, ignoring the dark passions that were welling up on every side. Throughout this simple story there is no hint of the anarchy that fell on Upper India less than two months after the authoresses sailed for England—*Absit omen*.

FRANCIS H. SKRINE, I.C.S. (RETIRED).

## THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA

BY SIR HENRY COTTON, K.C.S.I.

It is a matter of common knowledge that India has lately gone through a crisis of acute political unrest, but that since the King's visit the situation has materially improved. To many of us this broad fact is enough. But among others there is a desire to know more, and I often find myself asked if I can explain what is the actual position in India at the present moment. Is there any real improvement, and if so, in what directions? My friends are too shrewd to be misled by what they read in the biased columns of the newspapers, but they have had little or no opportunity of informing themselves of the effect of recent changes on the mind of the people and on the temper of the officials. They have heard more about the building of a new Delhi than of the growth of a national movement, or of the prospects of the development of Provincial Self-Government. They are in need of guidance, and it is in the attempt to help them that I now venture to trespass on your hospitality for a little space.

A few lines only of introduction are called for. Ten years ago, although there were obvious signs of agitation in India, there was nothing in the shape of any overt manifestations of discontent. At the meeting of the National Congress of December, 1904, at which men like

Tilak, Lajpat Rai, and Bipin Pal were delegates, there were no extremists. All were moderates. But there was a sensible wave of irritation throughout the length and breadth of the country against the officializing and reactionary tendencies which had then reached their culmination. In less than twelve months from that date Lord Curzon had retired, and a Liberal Government had come into power. The effect of this change, and in particular the advent of Mr. Morley as Secretary of State for India, was electric. Unrest then found expression in a ferment of expectation and anticipation. Large numbers of educated men felt towards John Morley as a master, and their heart, as Mr. Gokhale declared at the Congress of 1905, "hoped and yet trembled as it had never hoped or trembled before." Above all it was felt in Bengal, where the Partition was such a fresh and rankling sore, that steps would surely be taken which would lead to its reversal or modification.

The political situation at that moment was critical in the extreme. Danger and disorder were threatening on the one hand, peace and contentment were offering themselves for the asking on the other. An administrative triumph might have been achieved with the utmost ease if a Liberal Cabinet could have brought itself to act in India with the sagacity and courage it did not hesitate to display in the settlement of South Africa. But in spite of every warning a golden opportunity was allowed to slip, and at a time when people were in a fever of excitement and on the tenterhooks of hope, all that the Secretary of State could hold out to them in the House of Commons was that the Partition of Bengal was "a settled fact," and that "India should now be allowed to take breath, and we should move very slowly." It was a fatal day when it came to be known that under a Liberal Government there would be no negation of a reactionary policy. While the popular exasperation was daily rising the only idea of the officials in power was to combat it with coercion. Public meetings were forcibly dispersed; a system of espionage was established,

and a racial and religious antagonism between Muhammadans and Hindus was deliberately stirred up. The tide of disorder rolled on from bad to worse. The normal bitterness of feeling between British officials and the Indian educated classes was aggravated to breaking point. A general crusade against "sedition" was promoted, in the course of which scores of journalists and literary men were sentenced to long terms of hard labour. Public indignation was provoked beyond endurance, and the old traditional restraint which has always been the characteristic of an orderly and law-abiding people was gradually relaxed. At last the strain gave way in that feeling of resentment which in all lands drives men to acts of passionate despair. Nothing could be more deplorable for India than the sporadic outrages which then ensued. Nothing could be more criminal, more insensate, and more deserving of condemnation and punishment. But there is no other country in the world where similar antecedents would not have been followed by similar consequences.

It is impossible not to feel a pang of regret that we were not spared, as we might have been, the dark days through which India then passed and the measures of repression which were deemed necessary. They have left behind them indelible memories, and their shadow still rests on the Statute Book. But it is not my intention to indulge in any painful retrospect, and I have no wish to dwell on such things now. More gladly do I turn to the process, simple as the waving of a magician's wand, by which the angel of Conciliation at last spread its wings over a fair but distressful country, where for the preceding six years there had been continuous gloom. Never do I remember to have read any official despatches with greater gratification than those which were published on occasion of the King's Durbar at Delhi in December, 1911. They were a rude shock to most of the officials who were gathered there, but they bore to the people of India the ineffable balm of comfort and a signal of hope for which they had so long

been sighing in vain. They announced the abrogation of the Partition of Bengal on the identical lines which had always been urged on the Government. They proclaimed the abolition of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal and the creation of a Governorship in Council in its place—a measure which for many years had been advocated by the people of the Province. They announced, almost in the very language of the Indian National Congress, the extension of Provincial Self-Government as the only solution of the problem of the larger employment of Indians in the Public Service. If any justification were required for those who had urged these reforms on Lord Morley in 1906, it is to be found in the memorable State Papers which were laid before Parliament at the close of 1911.

There is no need to exaggerate the results following from this change of policy. The present position of affairs in India, as I shall presently show, still affords sufficient cause for anxiety. And yet the effect produced was immense. Personal considerations played their part in no small measure. The speeches of the King himself were full of sympathy and hope. "I leave you," he said, "a legacy of hope," and nothing could have paved the way better than these gracious words. But if a tribute of honour is due to any man, it should be paid to Lord Hardinge. He had begun his career as Viceroy with the inauguration of a campaign of conciliation and the announcements at the Durbar were the fulfilment of the promise he had already shown. His public utterances, with their simple sincerity and directness, his courage of which we have had dramatic evidence, the vigour and promptitude of his action in respect of the release of the Cawnpore rioters, and his profound sympathy with Indian feeling in regard to South Africa, have since cemented an influence over the imagination of India which has not been equalled by any Viceroy since the time of Ripon. Backbiters there are in the obscure corners of an Anglo-Indian Press, but the

triumphant success of Lord Hardinge's administration no longer admits of discussion. There are three illustrious names which stand out pre-eminently in the long list of Governors-General of India. To be associated with their names will always be the most honourable achievement of their successors. But I am on sure ground when I declare that the memory of Hardinge of Penshurst will endure with that of Ripon, of Canning, and of Bentinck.

At the same time, the character of the Provincial Governors in India has been well sustained. There never were more sympathetic and more Liberal-minded Governors of the great Presidencies than there are at this moment. For this we have reason to be grateful to Lord Crewe, the present Secretary of State. In Bengal there is Lord Carmichael, very tactful and polite and popular, with many of the qualities of his fellow-countryman Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and in all respects justifying in the mind of the people of the province their long-cherished desire for a Governor selected from the roll of British statesmen. Madras and Bombay are not less fortunate. The mellow wisdom and experience of Lord Pentland have found ample opportunities for their exercise in Madras, and Lord Willingdon in Bombay has already succeeded in more than fulfilling the expectation of his many friends. Even in the appointment of Lieutenant-Governors chosen from the ranks of the Civil Service, there is room for congratulation. It could not be expected that they would be able to rid themselves from the defects of their upbringing, but they have at least risen above the level of many of their predecessors and, if I do not deceive myself, Sir James Meston in the United Provinces and Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab are—in spite of blunders over which I would draw a veil—very favourable representatives of Civilian rule. There is, at any rate, ample reason for saying that personal considerations have played their part in materially improving the political situation in most provinces in India.

It would have been pleasing if I could indulge in further

similar reflections. But although the Governors of Provinces may do much in moulding policy and setting an example in courtesy and demeanour, it yet remains that they too often prove to be practically helpless in moderating the temper and attitude of the great governing body which in every complex bureaucratic system is immediately responsible for all direct and personal dealing with the people. Single-handed even the best disposed and most energetic among them find that their efforts are paralyzed at every turn. In an appreciable measure that is their own fault. Even so great a Viceroy as Lord Ripon laboured under the defect of not surrounding himself with those whom he knew to be in sympathy with his own views. This is a voluntary handicap to which Liberal statesmen in India seem to be constitutionally liable to subject themselves. A man like Lord Curzon entertained no illusions on this point, and I respect him for it. He had a policy to enforce, and never hesitated to choose his own agents to carry it out. He was right ; for if the head of a Government wants to get a thing done as he wishes it, he must employ instruments in whom he can repose implicit confidence. But our Liberal Governors, who are confronted with a stone wall of prejudice, and are in one of the most difficult positions a man can be called upon to fill, are willing to accept as a necessity of the situation the unsympathetic and ordinary Civil Service material they find ready to their hands—the same type of agent, in fact, that Lord Curzon found so useful. But as they have not the same policy in view that Lord Curzon had, it can hardly be expected that they will attain their ends so successfully as Lord Curzon did. And yet the men they need are still available if they would only seek for them. It may not be easy to find them, but they are there, though every day their number is diminishing owing to the discouragement they receive. It is heart-breaking to have to record such discouragement, but it is no exaggeration to say that never does a year pass without the supersession in the Service of able officers whose claims



are overlooked because they have made an honest stand against abuses and blunders, and in favour of fair and just treatment of the people of the country. A dead set is made against such men in the Secretariat and Council Chamber, and their chance is gone. Weak and cranky officers they are called. Not only are their prospects sacrificed to the conscientious discharge of duty, but such treatment is of course grossly detrimental to the public interest. It is not likely to lead to younger men venturing to follow in their steps.

I am compelled to repeat here what I have so often said that the principal and almost insuperable obstacle to the peaceful development of Indian political progress is the existence of a compact governing body of men, all appointed under exceptional terms of tenure of appointment, with special privileges, and highly disciplined and organized, which like every exclusive and privileged corporation is naturally disposed to resent any inroad on its own prerogative. The Indian Civil Service represents a form of administration admirably suited to a government by foreigners which exercises authority on autocratic lines. It was well adapted to the condition of things which prevailed in India when its constitution was devised. It has done a great work in the past; it has lasted long, and its efficiency has been acknowledged a thousand times. But now that the conditions have changed, what then? Who is there so blind as not to see that the constitution of the Service is inherently inapplicable to its present environment of popular representation and a growing sense of nationality, and that it is obviously inconsistent with any scheme for the realization of self-government?

Often and often have I urged upon the members of my old Service to endeavour deliberately to adapt themselves to the altered conditions of the country, and to devote their energies and ability to bridging over the gulf between the old and new, so that it might be traversed with the least disturbance. In vain! There was little or no response to

my appeal in days gone by when I was serving with my comrades, and my utterances were as much in the way of a warning as an appeal. There is less response now than there was then.' Is there any man who does not feel that the events of the past few years have injuriously affected the personal relations between the Civil Service and the educated Indian community? How could it be otherwise? Is there more cordiality now than there was? Is there more confidence and intimacy in those relations? Is there now any member of the Civil Service who, when the hour comes of leaving India for good, is sensible of a wrench or a void created in his heart by separation from any Indian whom he has known? Everyone knows that there is not. On the contrary, there is more alienation, a greater sense of distrust on both sides, and an increased bitterness of tone which finds expression alike in public and in private life.

A Royal Commission is now sitting to examine into and report on the Indian Civil Service. The object of the Secretary of State in appointing this Commission appears to have been to obtain suggestions which shall exalt and strengthen the existing constitution of the Service, and if possible rivet it for all time as the form and basis of Indian administration. As though in the midst of all the volume of unrest which is still agitating thought and aspirations it were not useless and even dangerous to bolster up the decaying fabric of a Service adapted only to obsolete conditions which have passed away and never can return! The Service representations to the Commission are the most pitiful reading it is possible to imagine, being on the one hand a mass of evidence belittling Indian claims and aspirations, and on the other a mere scramble for higher emoluments and allowances and improved conditions of pension. A lamentable exhibition indeed, and provocative in the last degree of the smouldering antagonism we ought to be straining every nerve to allay.

It is but the literal truth to say that as every forward movement is made in the path of progress—and in spite of

the fact that the Governors of Provinces are well disposed to foster such movements—the mind of this worn-out bureaucracy becomes more and more confirmed in the determination to hold by its old traditions and the memories of a moribund prestige. It is in its power to obstruct almost any measure of reform. A good example of this is to be found in the systematic opposition it has presented to the proposal which has been pressed in India for more than a quarter of a century against the union of judicial and executive functions in the same authority. Sixteen years ago a closely reasoned memorial in support of this reform was addressed to the Secretary of State by the late Lord Hobhouse and many retired Chief Justices and Puisne Judges of the High Courts. It is impossible that there could ever be a more influential protest. It has been “under consideration,” as it is called, ever since, and nothing has been done in the matter because the whole body of the Civil Service has been arrayed in inflexible hostility to any modification of the existing system.

Another illustration, and an even more illuminating one, suggests itself in connection with what are known as the Minto-Morley reforms. I firmly believe that Lord Morley intended that the reorganization of the Legislative Councils in India should be a real reform. But Parliamentary legislation on the subject was a mere skeleton, and it was left to rules and regulations framed in India to clothe it with flesh and blood. What followed? The rules were framed, and their effect is to sterilize the good intentions with which the scheme for the enlargement of the Councils had been originally devised. The electorate is not widened and the choice of the electors is narrowed. An arbitrary power has been reserved to veto the eligibility of candidates; and this has been exercised in a manner which the Government of twenty years ago would not have dared to emulate. An attempt has been made to drive in a wedge between Muhammadans and Hindus by giving to the former electoral privileges which are denied to the latter. Complaint

is rife that the powers of the unofficial members are reduced to a sham, and the shout of jubilation with which the new Councils were first welcomed has given way to disappointment. If success is acknowledged anywhere it is in the Provincial Councils, but for the Legislative Council of the Government of India you will hardly find that a good word is ever said. So potent is the sinister influence of a bureaucracy on the spot.

Is it wonderful that there should still be unrest? Who indeed would expect anything else? There are a thousand causes combining to provoke and irritate. There is a growing bitterness of race feeling. Men who speak English as well as most Englishmen, who correspond with scholars in Europe, who edit newspapers in English, who hold high judicial office, who transact commercial business on an extensive scale, are still treated in their own country as an inferior breed. The attitude of the self-governing colonies towards India is a well-known source of profound heart-burning and deep resentment. The rigorous operation of repressive laws, such as the Press Act and the Arms Act, the harsh treatment of political prisoners, the unequal administration of justice in cases between Englishmen and Indians, the espionage of the police and arbitrary house-searches, the general severity of judicial sentences—one and all are a permanent battery of pin-pricks on the rising spirit of a highly sensitive people.

At the same time education is spreading, and its fruits are everywhere apparent. The real political problem in India is the growth of an Indian Nation. There is now a small party of Indian Nationalists who despair of constitutional agitation, and openly advocate the establishment of an absolutely free and independent form of national government in India. These are known as extremists, and are for the most part young and hot-headed fanatics who will stick at nothing in methods of crime and violence! A grossly exaggerated impression of their importance is conveyed by telegrams from India, and by comments thereon

in the Press. The truth is that they are a microscopic, obscure, and hole-and-corner minority of irreconcilables. So far as they go, they are a dangerous class; but they receive no encouragement from their fellow-countrymen, who are indeed the principal sufferers at their hands. In complete detachment from these men are the recognized leaders of the national movement. They are not affected by any symptoms of alienation from the British Government. Their ideal is not separation from Great Britain. They desire to obtain self-government, and the detailed management of their own affairs. Their ideal is that India may ultimately be placed in a position corresponding to that of the self-governing colonies of the Empire. That is the ideal which they hold before them, knowing well that it can only be realized gradually and cautiously, and as the result of time and experience.

Two notable factors are working in this direction. First of all there is the despatch of Lord Hardinge, already referred to. Starting with the proposition that "the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be conceded," it goes on to say that "the only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." This declaration has given a lively impetus to the natural movement in favour of provincial self-government, or, in other words, the federation of the United States of India, which was the inspired vision, though seen darkly, of John Bright. It is now seen face to face, and nothing is more remarkable in the present political situation than the tendency towards provincial nationalism in every province. The ambition of public men is rather to sit in their own Provincial than in the

Imperial Legislative Council, and Provincial Conferences are the most popular feature in modern public life.

Of even greater importance than this movement is the cementing of the friendly relations between the two great communities of the Indian people. There is no sign in the history of the past three years more encouraging, and fraught with benefit to the future of India, than the growing union and identification of interests of Hindus and Muhammadans. The All-India Moslem League has formally intimated its adhesion to the fundamental programme of Congress reformers, and concerted co-operation is now the key-note of Muhammadan and Hindu gatherings alike. This is the direct result of education. Unity of ideas is due to uniformity of training, and the ideal which was present to Sir Syed Ahmed's mind when he founded the Allyghur College—but then was incapable of realization—is at last attained. Mutual trust, a desire for the achievement of common ends and objects, nationalism and self-government,—these are the inspiration of the rising generation not less of Muhammadans than of Hindus.

And so I may close these remarks on a note of hope. Whatever cause for anxiety there may be in the present, and there is cause in plenty, there is also a brighter side on which it is pleasanter to dwell, and prospects of a happier future, which those who like myself are admitted only to the Pisgah of a promised land may not live to see. But some day assuredly, and that day is perhaps not so far distant as many of us would persuade ourselves to believe, the legitimate aspirations and patriotic tendencies of India will reveal themselves to us as a stern reality, and no longer as an ideal only or a visionary's dream.

## INDIA, CANADA, AND THE EMPIRE

BY SIR ROLAND WILSON

"Free peoples have a right to say whom they will admit into their country, just as free men have a right to say whom they will admit into their house."—*Times*, June 4, 1914.

THIS pronouncement of the leading journal reproduces in epigrammatic form the pith of a letter addressed to the same paper some months earlier by Sir West Ridgeway, and as it seems likely in its turn to evoke many echoes, it is perhaps time to ask ourselves what it means.

First, what is meant by "free peoples" and "free men"? The same adjective, used twice in the same sentence, ought to mean the same thing in both places. Does it?

No man living in society is absolutely free from constraint by other human wills; but we commonly call a man free who is subject to no greater constraint than the bulk of his fellow-men, and we include in the rights of an ordinary citizen the right to build, purchase, or otherwise acquire, a dwelling-place, from which he may exclude at his pleasure everyone except those whom he is bound by law to maintain, and duly authorized officers of justice?

So far all is plain sailing. The trouble begins when we attempt to assign anything like the same meaning to the epithet "free" when prefixed to "peoples," which must in this connection mean "governments." The essence of government being constraint, the only sense in which we

can speak of a "free government" is that of a government which is not controlled, in the exercise of its powers of constraint, by any other government, or which is subject to less control of that kind than some other governments with which it is compared. For the freedom of governments, like the freedom of individuals, is a question of degree. The most powerful government in the world, (whichever that may be), is not entirely free from constraint on the part of other governments; whether we look to the material force that might be brought to bear on it in certain contingencies, or to the moral restraint of the recognized principles of International Law. We speak of a government as "independent," or "sovereign," when it habitually recognizes no other restraints than the last-mentioned; and if the term "free" is to be used at all in this connection (where it is rather unusual and not particularly apt), it is to governments of this class that it is primarily applicable. When it is applied to such a government as that of Canada, professedly a member of a larger organization, in which it counts numerically for only about one-fiftieth of the whole, the proper equivalent of "free," translated from the language of poetry and rhetoric into that of Blue-books, is not "independent," or "sovereign," but "autonomous"—a modern term of designedly vague signification, intended to negative independence, but to affirm some larger measure of freedom from external control than belongs to the component parts of a thoroughly unified State. Hence, the inclusion of Canada in the category of "free peoples" raises the question whether the autonomy conceded to that "Dominion" by the Imperial Parliament (which may be taken to be the same as that conceded to the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa) includes the right to impose whatever restrictions it thinks proper on immigration from other countries or from other parts of the British Empire, without reference to the wishes of the Imperial Government.



Formally the answer to this question is *No*, the right of veto on all colonial legislation being expressly reserved.

Practically, so far as practice has gone at present, the answer is *Yes*.

When the first trouble arose, some time before the Boer War, about the treatment of ex-indentured Indians in Natal, that Government was in a far weaker position than either Canada or South Africa is now; yet the reply of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, then at the head of the Colonial Office, to a deputation calling upon him to see the Indians righted, was, "What do you wish me to do? Do you expect me to send an army to coerce the Natal Government?"; implying that his veto was useless unless it was to be so enforced, and that this was out of the question. And accordingly the grievances remained unredressed to this day, in defiance of both English and Indian public opinion.

We shall return to this subject presently, but, before doing so, something has to be said on a yet wider question, suggested by another ambiguity in the *Times* formula, as to the right of even fully sovereign States to pursue a policy of exclusion.

Supposing the Canadian Government to be "free" in the sense of being practically independent, or supposing, on the other hand, that it is *we*, as represented by the Imperial Government, who are the "free people" for this purpose, what ground is there either way for the assertion that "free peoples," or independent governments, have the same right to say whom they will admit into their country that a private person has with respect to his house? 4

The so-called "possessive" pronoun is a particularly tricky part of speech, being used to denote the most various relations, of which some are, and some are not, possessive. For instance, it is a commonplace of demagogic oratory to denounce the rich Mr. So-and-so because *his* horses and *his* dogs are better cared for than *his* labourers, ignoring the fact that the animals are *his* property whereas the labourer is not. And so here there are sound

ethical reasons why the law should recognize, to the extent above defined, a man's exclusive possession of the house which he has built, bought, or otherwise lawfully acquired, which reasons would by no means support the claim of any people, however "free," to own what they call "*their* country" in the sense in which Smith owns *his* No. 5, John Street, or Paradise Villa. Just as no civilized legislature will ever again tolerate the pretensions of private landowners to enclose half a county and warn off trespassers, so international public opinion, which is slowly groping its way in a purblind, haphazard fashion towards assimilation of the mutual obligations of States to those already enforced between individuals by national law, looks already with just disfavour on attempts to restrict freedom of migration from the more to the less crowded portions of the globe. If this is not clearly recognized as a principle, it is because strong and well-ordered governments have not till lately been much tempted to offend in this way, and are difficult subjects to bring to justice when they do offend; while, on the other hand, the governments that are weak enough to be coerced, and yet possessed of large, sparsely-populated territory, are generally also bad governments, and their badness rather than their exclusiveness is made the pretext for foreign aggression and exploitation.

Down to quite recent times it was generally the policy of the stronger and better-ordered States to welcome immigrants of all kinds, regardless whether they were superior, equal, or inferior to the average of the old inhabitants. If equal or superior, like the French Huguenots, to whom England owes so much, they would be welcomed as adding to the material and moral strength of the nation; if inferior, so long as the direction of affairs lay with the classes rather than with the masses, they would be welcomed by the captains of industry as augmenting the supply of cheap labour. But with the growth of democracy in politics and trade unionism in industry, a new complication was introduced, which affected England only to a

slight extent, but the North American Continent and Australasia very seriously. The manual workers began to grasp the truth that one way of raising the wages of labour was to limit the supply, while insufficiently attending to the other truth, that scarcity of labour means diminished production, and therefore a diminished wage-fund; and when they found that their competitors were not of their own race, colour or religion, they were restrained by no sentiment of brotherhood from resenting to the utmost the intrusion of this new species of blackleg along the Pacific seaboard and in the cities and mining centres of Australia.

Other currents of sentiment have worked in the same direction; and the result is that we are now confronted in all our non-tropical oversea Dominions with a demand that every region in which men of European origin can live and work in comfort shall be preserved as a "white man's country."

This would be a tremendous resolve if the peoples who make it were taking upon themselves the entire risk and preparing to defend it with their own forces. But when they do so as constituent members of an Empire which is Asiatic as to three-fourths of its population, and to which it is of the utmost importance to maintain amicable relations with the other Asiatic peoples against whom these measures are directed, it is the Imperial Government that has the greatest cause for anxiety. We of the Mother-country are being told in effect:

1. That we must hold ourselves in readiness to fight China or Japan, or both together, should those Powers take it into their heads to give practical expression to their resentment at the inhospitable treatment of their nationals in Canada or Australia. Even if the mere knowledge that our whole strength is pledged to the backing of these exclusionists should suffice to prevent actual fighting, that same knowledge cannot fail to impair our good name and influence in the Far East, and to place us at a disadvantage in European politics.

2. That we must confess to our Asiatic subjects our inability to secure for them freedom of settlement and equal treatment before the law in the more healthy and thinly populated parts of what we have taught them to call our Empire.

In the particular case of Canada there is this further aggravation, that His Majesty's Asiatic subjects are not even placed on a level with other Asiatics. They complain that, whereas there is a special arrangement with Japan that immigrants from that country are to be admitted up to the limit of 400 annually, and whereas Chinese are admitted without any other check than a poll-tax of 500 dollars, the avowed intention is, or was, to keep out Indian-British subjects altogether. This was evidently the object of the otherwise senseless regulation (now declared invalid) that no immigrant should be admitted at the ports who had not come by a continuous sea voyage from his place of domicile—a condition which it would be easy for Chinese and Japanese, but wellnigh impossible for Indians, to satisfy. Baffled at this point by the judgment of the Supreme Court of the Province, the local authorities are for the moment taking their stand on a more recent Order in Council, absolutely prohibiting the entry of all artisans and labourers; which Order would in due course have expired before the arrival of the *Komagata Maru*, but which was renewed till the end of September, while the vessel was *en route*, expressly to meet this case, and to enable the Premier of the Dominion to assert with literal accuracy that there was no discrimination against Hindus. In practice the discrimination is complete, because European artisans and labourers do not want to come via the Pacific. At the time of writing it had not transpired how many of these Hindus—who had come with the avowed purpose of testing the efficacy of whatever barriers might be set up—would be excluded by the definition; but if this device proves inadequate some other will doubtless be invented.

Meanwhile the Hindus already in British Columbia have

found an able and earnest spokesman of their own race, Dr. Sunder Singh, who has started at Victoria a paper called the *Sansar*—whether weekly or monthly does not appear from the single copy that has reached me. It is addressed alike to the Europeans of the Province and to the Indian public at home, who will doubtless have learnt by this time through many other channels, and in more inflammatory language than that of this simple-minded enthusiast, the story of yet one more of their masters' doors being "banged, barred and bolted" in the face of their countrymen.

Will this quarrel be patched up under friendly pressure from the Home Government, as that between India and South Africa seems now in fair way of being? Hardly, if the description given by the *Times* correspondent of the state of Canadian opinion is anywhere near the truth. But if not, what then?

It may be inferred from the sentence quoted at the head of this article that the *Times* would recommend simple acquiescence. The Canadians are a free people; the whole country from sea to sea, and from the United States frontier to the North Pole, is their country, and it is for them to say whom they will admit into it.

That is all very well; but, unfortunately, it is for the present our country in respect of international responsibility. It is our Foreign Office that has to defend the Canadian position in the field of diplomacy where foreign immigrants are concerned, and it is our India Office that has to satisfy the people of India that they are, at all events, not worse treated than the foreigner. And if the Canadian arguments are such as we cannot employ without loss of self-respect, or without injury to the self-respect of those to whom we address them, what are we to do?

For that is the actual situation. How, without condemning the very process by which we ourselves colonized America, can we maintain that occupation to the extent of two inhabitants to the square mile gives the occupants a

right to keep for themselves, and for those whom for some reason they may choose to favour, all the profits that are capable of being made out of something like one-fifteenth of the land-surface of the globe? The only right that first occupancy really confers is that of framing any reasonable regulations for the government of the country and development of its resources, which regulations all new-comers are bound to respect until they are very sure that they can improve them, and of levying such taxes as will defray expenses and fairly remunerate them for their trouble. This will no doubt justify them in excluding *individuals* whose condition or record may render them intrinsically "undesirable," but cannot justify discrimination against *whole races and classes*—least of all on the ground that they are able and willing to do more work for less pay than the first-comers. That may be inconvenient for rivals in the same trade, but is clear gain to the community as a whole—while it lasts; it is not, however, likely to last long after it is discovered that higher wages are obtainable and that a higher standard of living is expected. The objection set up in some quarters, that the climate and the work required are unsuited to Hindus, at once supplies an answer to the other objection, that they are likely to swarm over in inconvenient numbers. If the fact is so, it has only to be made known in order to stop the influx.

Are we to tell sturdy Sikhs from the Punjab, who have served with credit under British officers, tilled their own lands and managed their local affairs under a legal system quite as advanced as that of England or Canada, that they are less assimilable, less fit for Canadian citizenship than Dukhobors from Russia or Ruthenians from Galicia? Canadians may take this line on their own responsibility, and on the strength of such information as they imagine themselves to possess but surely not the Imperial Government.

If such action supported by such arguments is persisted in by our autonomous kinsfolk on either side of the globe,

I must confess that I see but one way in which we British taxpayers and electors can honourably extricate ourselves from a very awkward and humiliating situation, and do justice to our own insular and Imperial interests, as well as to our democratic and humanitarian sentiments. It is that we should abdicate, without precipitancy but without undue delay, that nominal supremacy which renders us formally responsible in the eyes of our Asiatic subjects, and of other Asiatic Powers, for measures which we cannot approve, yet cannot effectually veto, and which is even more offensive to their self-respect than injurious to their economic interests. If I do not add South Africa to the list, it is only because the Union Government is at the present moment recommending to its Parliament what are, from its point of view, very considerable concessions, however inadequate from ours, and displaying a conciliatory disposition which it would be a pity to discourage. Should that Bill fail after all to become law, we shall be back where we were six months ago, and I for one shall be disposed to advocate amicable separation in that case also.

"My allotted space being exhausted, I can only indicate, without developing, my reasons for thinking that we stand to gain rather than to lose by severing the slender political bond which unites us with these vigorous young nations from the moment that it ceases to be based on a substantial unity of sentiment.

1. We should be a greater and more beneficent force in world-politics if unhampered by conflicting aims.

2. We should be better able to watch over the development of India and the Crown Colonies.

3. Our quondam dependencies would be more likely to come round in the end to our point of view after some experience in trying to maintain their exclusionist policy on their own resources as independent States.

4. There would be one sham less in the world to confuse and demoralize us.

## THE LATE DOWAGER EMPRESS OF JAPAN

By C. M. SALWEY

"Add a royal number to the Dead."

THE people of Japan have again been called on to bear a great national sorrow, and the passing of Haruko, Dowager Empress, widow of H.I.M. the late Meiji Tennō, is a loss that will be felt by millions of loyal people.

Her late Majesty was born on May 29, 1850. She was the daughter of Ichijo Yakada, a noble of the highest rank, head of one of the five families from whom an Empress is always chosen. The first nineteen years of her life were spent more or less in seclusion, after the manner and custom of the times. In the year 1869 she became the honoured Consort of the then new Emperor, whose title during the early days of his reign was that of Mutsu Hito, since changed to Meiji Tennō. The marriage was solemnized shortly after his ascension to the Throne of Japan in 1868. The ceremony was held within the Temple of the Palace on December 28, according to the Shinto rites. Haruko was declared Empress on the day of her marriage with the Emperor, who had been crowned at Kyoto on October 31 of the same year.

After her marriage she became imbued with the spirit of the times. She did not hesitate to accept the new régime. Western ideals and advanced civilization claimed her attention; especially the emancipation of Japanese women from



their close confinement to home life. To grant greater freedom was a subject of vital interest to Her Majesty. In this she shared the sentiments of the Emperor, whose admirable speech, pregnant with hope and desire that a thorough education should be placed within the reach of all classes, proved a lasting benefit to his subjects. The new Emperor, unlike his predecessors, advocated more liberty of action. His manifesto on education embodied a more complete and classical education for the aristocracy, and a measure of tuition for all classes. The nobles of the land were encouraged to not only benefit themselves by their journeys to foreign countries for the acquisition of European culture, but whenever possible to be accompanied by their wives and sisters, in order that the status of women might thereby be raised and benefited. It must be borne in mind that in previous centuries the education of women, particularly of those of high degree, was prosecuted at home; the classical literature issued from time to time was supposed to contain sufficient knowledge to meet their needs. Of this literature the "Makura-no Sōshi" and the "Genji Monogatari" are the two greatest works, and the widest known for containing the necessary instruction as to the behaviour of women under all circumstances, within their homes, towards their parents, their husbands, and all in authority. The "Genji Monogatari," a voluminous work of fifty-four volumes, was regarded not only as instructive but as a work of genius, beautiful in style, poetical in composition, as well as of unflagging interest. This work has more or less influenced, and we may almost say guided and moulded, the lives of the Japanese for centuries.

Although a new system of education was promulgated throughout the country as early as 1872, the organization was of necessity slow in its development. The Emperor's rescript, issued on September 14, 1871, aroused enthusiasm for this commendable step, but it was not until 1877 that a girls' department was opened in the Peers' School for the daughters of the aristocracy. In 1885, by order of Em-

press Haruko, the Peeresses' School was established under her illustrious patronage. Every encouragement and facility was offered to those who availed themselves of the higher teaching. Moral culture and physical deportment were both placed before the students, together with an expansion of curriculum in view of placing the women of Japan on an equality with those of the West.

The Empress also showed great interest in the artistic and delicate accomplishments practised in the land prior to the Restoration--lace-making, embroidery, the preparation of silk, even the rearing of the silkworm, the arranging of flowers in symbolic grouping, the etiquette of *Cha-no-yu*, or the tea ceremony; of *Kō Awase*, or incense parties. Fan games, archery, and many other graceful pastimes were, under her patronage, brought to perfection by the ladies of her Court. The Empress had great talents; she was a lady of tact and cleverness, possessing noble characteristics, with a winning manner and a most charming personality. She was the central figure of an active circle, while, according to the standard of beauty among her people, there was great daintiness in her queenly demeanour. Her face was that perfect oval so much admired by Orientals, her features small, her dark oblique eyes full of a kindly expression, a figure not too slender in youth, but comely in mature life. She moved among her Court and her people, and drew them to her by her sympathetic nature and the growing interest she felt for them, which was as new as it was delightful for a crowned head to express.

An amusing incident is recorded in connection with the sanctity that surrounded the royalty of Japan. When Her Majesty decided to adopt Western dress, tradition forbade ordinary hands to touch the sacred personage, and the costumier was at a loss how to complete the task satisfactorily. It is recorded that Princess Ito came to the rescue, and acted as a model until a perfect robe for Her Majesty was completed, after repeated readjustment. But great as was the sentiment of sanctity concerning the Empress, it was many

degrees below that felt for the Emperor, for until the etiquette of the Court underwent modification Emperor and Empress, were never seen in public together. Even when travelling in processions, the palanquin, or royal *norimono*, were arranged to progress at a stated interval, apart. A day eventually dawned in which this ancient custom was set aside, and a crowd of loyal citizens beheld with awe and wonder the Emperor and his Consort sitting side by side, the gracious lady smiling on her people and accepting their homage. This amazing concession from past rules necessitated the introduction of Western methods of conveyance. A handsome equipage drawn by horses superseded the ancient closely curtained *norimono* held high on the palms of bearers, in which the Sovereign of Divine descent had hitherto in solitary state proceeded on all journeys.

Although His Imperial Majesty seldom permitted his people to look upon his face, or his sacred person, Empress Haruko went among her people and her poor. She visited the schools and the hospitals, and moved among her invited guests at the spring and autumn flower festivals. She also took part in the more modern forms of recreation, and was highly interested in physical culture. Her life was full of arduous duties, self-imposed in times of war as well as of peace. It was but rarely she could find the opportunity to indulge her poetic faculty, and compose those sweet and exquisite *Tanka* (short verses of thirty-two syllables) that will ever claim for her a high place among the authoresses of her land. Occasionally these poems find their way to us in printed form. A collection of some written by the late Emperor has been made by Mr. Saito, entitled "A Voice out of the Serene," but these are for private circulation only. In them we find the Royal 'Master Singer' of Japan declaring his affection and sympathy for his people in poetic language, beautifully expressed, together with his admiration of nature—of stream and mountain, flower and bird—as well as his horror of war and love of

peace. When we read these poetic epigrams, we can readily understand that the young and intellectual Princess Haruko was chosen to fill the exalted position of Royal Consort on account of her ability as a poetess and the fine classic style of her composition.

During the last illness of His Imperial Majesty the Empress shone in the capacity of nurse and guardian, being in constant attendance in the sick chamber, denying herself both food and sleep, and only dividing her attentions when pressing State business demanded her presence.

Although the Empress bore no heir to the throne, the Emperor's family of many Princes and Princesses were delivered into her special care. The royal nurseries were ruled by her counsel and her love. She was instrumental in sending five of the young Princes to be educated in foreign countries. The present reigning Sovereign of Japan, His Imperial Majesty Yoshihito Haru-no-miya, is the third son of the late Emperor. The Dowager Empress was taken ill in the Palace at Numadzu, situated about eighty-six miles from Tokyō. Heart failure hastened the end. During her illness she was visited by their Imperial Majesties of Japan and members of the Imperial Household. Being a strict form of etiquette that Royalty should die in the capital, it was not officially announced that the Dowager Empress had ceased to breathe until the cortège containing her earthly remains had passed into the royal city. Therefore, not at funeral pace, but by ordinary State progress, surrounded by a military escort, her residence was reached. A ceremony followed of a solemn nature, one and all of her retinue and household being admitted to pay the formulated welcome offered to a yet living and beloved Empress. The official announcement of her decease was given shortly after this *triste* ordeal. At ten minutes past two o'clock in the morning of April 11 the nation learned the news of the loss they had sustained. The foreign Press was, as soon as possible, acquainted with this sad event. The Dowager-Empress Haruko was

greatly beloved by her lord. Notwithstanding the fact that she bore him no children, their union was extremely happy. It is known that she was held in high esteem, and that the Emperor constantly sought her co-operation and advice in matters of great concern. Her practical wisdom, virtue, and noble example will ever endear her to her subjects as a Great Empress, a devoted wife, and a shining light of the new-born Land. Her love of art, literature, culture, and all things beautiful, her unselfishness in rising to the emergency of rapid changes in Court and Constitution, her sympathy during distressing events, together with the queenly influence that was ever sustained during the illustrious era of enlightenment, leave on the minds of those who remain to mourn her loss a blameless and beautiful pattern to emulate.

## POLITICS AND BRITISH TRADE IN THE NEAR EAST

BY CAPTAIN DIXON JOHNSON

WRITERS in the financial Press, and experienced speakers at the public meeting of city men which was called by the Ottoman Association last February, have emphasized how worldwide was the financial disturbance resulting from the Balkan War. It would be absurd to pretend that the effect on commerce has been on anything like the same scale. It may, however, be permissible to trace some connection between the general slackness of trade, for instance, in the South American Republics and the loss of credit which these States were the first to experience as the result of the unsettled conditions in Europe.

Unfortunately, however, there can be no doubt that British trade with the Near East has been seriously affected by the results of the Balkan War. Business firms find that by the transference of Turkey's European possessions to the Balkan States they have been deprived of the market of a very good customer. A merchant formerly doing a large trade with Salonika has recently returned, and has bitterly complained to the writer of the present condition of affairs in that once prosperous port.

The importance of Salonika as a market for British industries previous to the Balkan War may be judged from the fact that in 1911 the value of British exports into that port totalled nearly £1,000,000, and exceeded the value of those of any other nation. Now all this is changed, and

the value of these imports threatens to depreciate to one-third of the former figure.

The policy of the Greek Government seems to be simply to collect immediately as large a sum as possible in duties without any consideration for the health of the proverbial fowl. Tariffs have been greatly increased all round now, in sharp contrast with the universal duty of 11 per cent. previously levied by the Turkish Government. It does, indeed, seem an anachronism that a Greek Government should be allowed to raise its tariff when and how it likes, whereas in the very same port, and but a few months previously, the Turkish Government could only do so after first obtaining the individual consent of the European Powers. This consent, in the majority of cases, could only be purchased after considerable delay and bargaining, by the granting of important and valuable political or commercial concessions in other parts of the Empire. As an instance of trade injustice the *ad valorem* duty of 11 per cent. was increased to 15 per cent. without any warning to importers, and the increased duty was actually levied on goods already landed and lying in the warehouses. Continuity in trade relations is as important as continuity in foreign policy, and unexpected action like this can only have the most disturbing results. Hitherto British goods have always been preferred and have commanded the market. Now, however, the peasants and dwellers in the small towns and villages of the interior complain of the enhanced prices, and must, in consequence, limit the quantity they buy, or purchase inferior goods of other manufacture at the same price at which they were once contented to buy British commodities.

Imports at Salonika intended for the larger hinterland of Macedonia and Albania, now in the occupation of Servia, suffer to an even worse degree on account of the still higher tariff barrier imposed at the frontier. The Servian Government, rather than encourage freights of goods landed at Salonika along the Greek railways, throws every obstacle

in the way, and prefers that home-manufactured or foreign goods should be carried on her own state railways. As Servia has no port of her own, and she has deliberately discouraged all imports through Salonika, British goods which were formerly shipped through this port are now being replaced by goods from the countries of Central Europe, to the serious detriment of the trade of this country. Even Greek merchants complain of the present state of affairs, and express a wish for the return of Turkish rule and the former prosperity. Long-established Jewish firms are leaving the port in disgust, not only on account of the general slackness of trade, but also because they cannot accustom themselves to the methods or manners of the present officials of the port. They prefer to remove to areas where once again they can carry on their business under Turkish officials who always treated them with politeness and transacted their affairs in as smooth and as easy a manner as possible, if for no better reason, because it saved trouble. On the contrary, the present officials, when not occupied in swaggering about in their brand-new uniforms, and discussing politics and the glories of the Greek victories in the cafés, are for ever worrying and harrying the unfortunate traders. Another reason for the general exodus should be treated with considerable delicacy, and rather than risk incurring a charge of partiality or antipathy, the writer has preferred to quote the words of that great philhellene Lord Byron: "In all money transactions with the Moslems I ever found the strictest honour, the highest disinterestedness. In transacting business with them there are none of those dirty peculations, under the name of interest, difference of exchange, commission, etc., etc., uniformly found in applying to a Greek Consul to cash bills, even on the first houses in Pera."

Recently Mr. Venizelos's attention was called to a long and careful article in one of the local newspapers on the present lamentable condition of the port of Salonika. The Premier immediately wrote and thanked the editor for his



exposure, and assured him that the matter would receive his most urgent attention. Mr. Venizelos, however, at the present time has his hands full, and with all his astuteness it is doubtful, considering the complexity of the situation, whether even *he* could find a remedy. Any serious attempt to do so would earn for him the bitter enmity of the merchants of the Piræus, whose policy until now has been to keep Greece a one-port country, and after all he may doubt whether it is to the advantage of his country that he should jeopardize his own position, already shaken on account of the Epirus problem, in order to benefit the Turcophile merchants of Salonika. Tariffs and other disabilities must equally discourage British commerce in the islands of Chios and Mitylene as they have done in Macedonia. Formerly the trading houses of Smyrna received delivery of the British goods, and redistributed them to these islands. This convenient arrangement is no longer possible, and British firms are now compelled to ship direct to the islands or to tranship their goods at Smyrna or Piræus, a process which entails risk of damage, delay, and extra cost. They can no longer do their business through the reputable firms long established in Smyrna, and rather than entrust their goods to small Levantine traders may possibly prefer to abandon this trade entirely.

The Balkan War has resulted in loss to British commerce in the Near East, but the loss is insignificant in comparison to what it would be should the enemies of Turkey succeed in dividing up her Asiatic Provinces. In 1911 the exports from Great Britain were £5,844,000, with actually only £89,000 from other countries. It would as surely cripple our trade with that port as it has with Salonika. Should Greece occupy Smyrna or any part of the Asiatic littoral, Russia would sooner or later take her share of the hinterland. The annual export of cotton piece-goods alone from this country to the Asiatic Provinces of Turkey has during the last three years averaged annually £3,679,656. Once these, or a portion of these, Provinces, was occupied

by Russia, a prohibitive tariff in favour of her own subsidized cotton factories would involve a serious diminution in the exports from this country; on the other hand, once the country became more peaceful and prosperous under the present rule, the potentialities of British trade would be enormously increased. In estimating what the loss in this one item alone of our trade would be, it is of interest to note that recently the "Golos Moskvi" boasted that, thanks to the Anglo-Russian agreement, which handed over Northern Persia to Russia, the Russian exports of cotton and cloth goods which in 1908-1909 averaged only 20 per cent. of the whole into Persia, increased last year to 80 per cent. The "Golos Moskvi," as the "Near East," adds, praises the Anglo-Russian Entente, but does Lancashire? Yet, not content with this enormous increase, the Duma, on June 9, adopted a motion calling upon the Russian Government to further develop the imports into Persia by the creation of special export bounties. British engineering, skill, and perseverance, has made it possible for the Euphrates Valley to produce the very finest cotton, and to once again become one of the most important granaries of the world. No highly protected country should ever be allowed to deprive British commerce from sharing the fruits of British and Turkish enterprise.

Chambers of Commerce might with advantage urge upon the Government the importance which the maintenance of the integrity of Turkey possesses for British trade, and might even hint that if the present policy of *Ententes* means the further loss of other free and open markets, it might be advisable to look round for some less one-sided friendships.

Parliament on June 17 sanctioned the investment of £2,200,000 from the consolidated fund in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. The British Government thus itself becomes the predominant partner in a commercial enterprise in the Near East in which a large amount of British capital was

already invested. The recent anxiety felt for the safety of the Mexican oilfields at Tampico, although they are actually on the coast and under the protection of the guns of an International squadron, shows how easily oilwells can be destroyed by fire or water. Instead of being on the coast the Anglo-Persian oilfield is connected with the sea by a pipe-line 150 miles long which passes through a difficult and mountainous country inhabited by an independent and turbulent population. The destruction of this great Imperial undertaking would not affect the national safety, but it would certainly involve a very heavy financial loss and would seriously damage the prestige which is so important to commercial enterprise.

The oilfield is actually open to attack from all sides, by Russian Cossacks from the north, by the Turkish army corps at Baghdad, and the neighbouring province from the west, by the Muntefik Arabs from the south, and by the surrounding turbulent and powerful Baktiari tribesmen. Our present relations with Russia may be of the best, but a wise diplomacy does not neglect to provide against the unexpected dangers of the future. In contrast to Russia, Turkey has long abandoned a forward policy of adventure, and in Asia only desires to live in peace and to maintain the integrity of her present Empire. British support of Turkey on the questions of the Near East would do much to assure the friendship of the Moslem Baktiari tribesmen and Muntefik Arabs, and would save the danger and the expense of maintaining a garrison from India, which can ill be spared, to prevent sudden destruction by even a small party of raiders. The knowledge that a friendly Turkish army corps was within striking distance and able to render assistance would be of infinite advantage should this country be involved in complications with one or more European Powers.

## A FOOTNOTE TO THE BALKAN WAR

BY JOHN MAVROGORDATO

INDIGNATION is not always a happy inspirer of argument, or even of eloquence. It so often produces only hysterical exaggeration, which, once detected, fills the reader with a general distrust of everything that proceeds from the indignant pen. It is to me a continual wonder that Balkan propagandists do not realize how much their writings would gain if they could persuade themselves to put off that virulence, which is even less attractive than indignation.

One has only to pick up any article or any book dealing with Balkan affairs, and apply to it one simple test: Read first that part dealing with some place or incident of which you have personal knowledge. If you find, as you invariably will, not necessarily a lie, but an apparently wilful inaccuracy, or a cold-blooded exaggeration, or an omission, or a thick-headedness which amounts to criminal negligence, you must compel yourself to disregard the whole of that writer's testimony. It is the only safe way of dealing with books about Balkan questions.\* There seems to be an intoxication in the air of that lovely peninsula. Ever since the destruction of her image on the Acropolis, the bright Goddess of Truth seems to have cursed her worshippers

\* It would be too much to expect people to deal thus with every column of their newspapers. If they did, we might all wreath ourselves with myrtle, to celebrate our deliverance from the ugly tyranny of the Press.

(of whom not the least devout, in other days, came out of Macedonia), causing them to wander in to all manner of damnable heresies, and to follow the false preachers of devilish fetishes and strange taboos.

Let me give two instances of the weary scepticism produced in me by even a limited knowledge of Balkan affairs. There recently appeared in the Press a story to the effect that the bodies of two hundred Muhammadan Albanians had been found crucified in the charred ruins of a church in Northern Epirus. Variations of this story were widely circulated, having, of course, whatever their origin, an overpowering attraction for the evening papers. It was not a very good advertisement for the cause of the Epirote insurgents. I did not pay much attention to the story, because I knew by experience that reliable information about Epirus did not usually arrive, by way of Vienna, from Durazzo. But in the story itself there was internal evidence of its falsity. Christian Epirotes, if they had ever wanted to burn the bodies of Muhammadan Albanians, would not have burned them in one of their own churches, but in a mosque. And it would have been equally impossible for the orthodox Christian to crucify his enemy. Crucifixion is a torture never inflicted by Christians, but, in the way of appropriate punishment, on them. Thus, in the fifteenth century Dede Sultan, a leader of the Albanian sect of *Bektashi*, was crucified by the Turks because he was suspected of having contaminated the religion of Islam with Christian doctrine. So much for the horrid story from Durazzo, and long live the two hundred Albanians whose fate was so grossly exaggerated!

My other instance does not involve such a simple dismissal of a piece of "foreign intelligence" by a little ordinary intelligence. Rather it illustrates what I might call the "automatic mitigation" of all sweeping denunciations of Balkan conditions.

Some time ago it was my duty "in another capacity" to read a number of romantic stories by Mr. Ashton Hilliers,

and even to reject them. It appears that that Mr. Hilliers is none other than Mr. H. M. Wallis, who now takes enough interest in the Balkans to write very dashing articles about Bulgaria, or, rather, against everything Greek. I have not sat in judgment on Mr. Wallis's tales of Bulgarian woe, because, thank Heaven, it is not my duty to sift the by-products of Bulgarian propaganda; but when I saw his name on the cover of the *Quarterly Review*, something, perhaps habit, made me read his article. It suggested automatically two reflections: Firstly, that Mr. Wallis's Greek butchers must have done their "work of extermination" very badly, judging by the number of survivors who can be produced in Sophia. Secondly, that the "work of extermination" ought to have been extraordinarily easy; for the whole of that countryside, all the surroundings of Strumnitza, Serres, and Doiran, had already during the first war, to my knowledge, been depopulated, with characteristic thoroughness, by the Bulgarians, in their advance on Salonica and Kavalla at the end of 1912. That advance never courted publicity in the Press. No one was allowed to know exactly what methods eliminated the Turk from the obscurer villages of Eastern Macedonia. But I remember a certain Vice-Consul who made quite a hobby of collecting the scanty evidence on this point. And the historian will be able to supplement this by analogy of what was witnessed at the Bulgarian occupations of Serres and Kavalla.

But I certainly never expected to be drawn, in these pages, into the discussion of massacres. If a massacre has taken place, the best thing to do is to forget it, as the most glorious wars will be forgotten in the ripeness of time. War is sufficiently horrible without the elaborations of the journalist; and war is sufficiently absurd without the soldiers afterwards accusing one another of having killed someone.

The Balkan War will never be understood in England, because it was the only sort of war for which there is any

possible excuse. England and the rest of Western Europe have outgrown by about three hundred years the time in the development of nations when fighting is natural and even necessary. England, of course, continues to contemplate war, and to be bluffed by the threat of war in the circumlocutions of diplomacy. But her national welfare no longer requires war; and, if she ever undertakes it, it will be at the bidding of merchants and usurers, who do not represent even the baser instincts of the specifically national spirit, but are wholly foreign and parasitic. On that occasion the *Daily Mail* and the Foreign Office will no doubt assure the British people that the war in question involves the whole honour and welfare of the State; and the people will believe it. But it will not be true. For England is happily not, or not yet, a nation of shopkeepers; and it will be only the shopkeepers whose welfare is concerned.

The Balkan War, on the other hand, was not a shopkeepers' war, but a genuine and almost instinctive expression of national requirements and international adjustments. The shopkeepers of Greece could certainly foresee no commercial advantage, and were shopkeepers so very incompletely that they shouted with the rest for every movement of a war which involved the commandeering (not indeed without payment, but certainly disadvantageous) of their ships and horses, and the conscription of their workmen. They had little even to hope from the commercial exploitation of Macedonia, the benefit of which is more likely to accrue to the Jews of Vienna and to the Standard Oil Company of America, shrewdly trusted as it is to the guidance of the isolated and unsentimental Englishmen of the Levant.

Let me pause for a minute to denounce, neither personally nor even at all anti-semitically, the Jews of Vienna. Think of some village in the heart of Macedonia threaded to Europe only by one dusty mule-track over the mountains, up which the men in goatskin capote and shoes cut out of

raw hide, will drive their ponies, once a month, balancing all their wealth on the wooden *samar*,<sup>1</sup> think of the women in coarse-woven embroidered shift and brightly dyed woollen apron and hammered silver zone twirling their spindles as they lean against the brown mud-plastered walls; the whole community as beautifully self-supporting as some Platonic polity, and the beauty of its handicrafts directly dependent on freedom from foreign imports. Or think of Monastir in its wide green valley under the high shoulder of the hill, already washed by the tide of pollution, already stocked with machine-made Belgian furniture. Macedonia has been, indeed, the unhappy ground of massacre and oppression; but its last state may be more degraded and more corrupt than the passionate suffering of its captivity, for roads will be built over the mountains, the Viennese bagman will invade them, and the Macedonian in his simplicity will become a ready-made European in shoddy suit and brown boots and black hat, despising the fish of his own silver lakes, to batten on tinned salmon from British Columbia.

It cannot be said, of course, that the Balkan War did not generally benefit all the traders of the Levant. Seeley, or one of his equivalents, said that trade involves war, and war fosters trade; and it stands to reason that all war, whatever temporary dislocation of business it may involve, must ultimately, as a principal form of destruction, assist that intensive cultivation of demand that constitutes nearly the whole of modern trade. Of course, short-sighted shopkeepers will protest against the dislocation, as the Jewish shopkeeper of Salonica persistently grumbled, perhaps honestly forgetting the profits they will make in replacing the commodities destroyed, and in rebuilding most of the towns in Macedonia.\* Whatever the interruption of

\* They need have had no more political economy than Thucydides to know that such a port as Salonica cannot be effectively choked by any obstruction of tariffs or hinterlands. Trade follows the sea-route—*ἡπεσέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα* (ii., 38, 2).



business, commerce must ultimately benefit. But the point is that it was not any expectation of this ultimate profit or any definite purpose of exploiting new markets that stimulated the Balkan War, as they would primarily stimulate any war undertaken in Western Europe.

The war with Turkey was in one aspect at least the cutting of an etiolated growth, the natural defeat of a civilization no longer suited to its environment. The Turks, however charming their manners, however dignified their impassive attitude of occupation, were no longer fitted to survive in Europe among other nations culturally stronger. A military empire with no culture of its own, and usurping foreign cultures, whether French, Arabian, or Syrian, cannot resist the supervention of a culture superior in itself and genuinely national. I have always thought that the poverty of Turkish names, whether local or personal, was a significant if trivial indication of the poverty of Turkish culture.

As dying cultures must be thrown off, so must a strong nation digest or excrete isolated patches of a different culture. And in this light the war with Bulgaria may be regarded as a natural process for the rectification of national outlines and the resolution of enclaves.

It is idle in the presence of such natural and inevitable processes for Bulgaria and Greece and Serbia and Turkey to chatter and intrigue about the correct division of the Balkan peninsula. Whatever the agreements and whatever the grotesque distortions of European diplomats, a nation must acquire and can only retain the territory which is occupied by a compact population and a sturdy culture of its own.

I seem to have rambled some way from the consideration of the English Press with which I started, but I believe that most of my subsequent remarks are truly relevant. The newspapers fail to understand the Balkan War, not only because they hardly ever record the whole truth about any occurrence, but also because, unsupported

as they are by any mass of intelligent interest among their readers, they are quite incapable of viewing the occurrences they record from any remote philosophical standpoint. It is no use talking to them about a natural war ; they are too much civilized to understand a war of that sort. The Balkan War was a natural war because it was, as I have tried to suggest, the convulsive acceleration of a natural process.

Natural indeed war may be, but not necessarily inevitable. There is no reason why this instinctive, precipitated war should not be eliminated without giving place to the artificial wars of Western Europe. If Greece and Bulgaria and Turkey will only forget their spites and vendettas by devoting themselves each to her own development, the natural changes and readjustments might proceed without any catastrophic upheaval. Each must cultivate the strength of her own personality, being careful not to borrow any of the ready-made formulæ of France or Germany or England. Then, and only then, it may become something more than a dream to see Greece and Servia and Bulgaria, each sufficient in her own culture, growing up side by side, without compromise, without envy, and without intolerance, in friendship, and in strength.

## THE ALBANIAN SEA-COAST

BY E. AUBRY

ALBANIA opens a way to the sea. Her troubles arise from no other cause. Whether the Prince of Wied retains the Crown, or whether Albania returns to Moslem rule, is not the vital point at issue. Albanian national life can only be saved by the ruler, be he Moslem or Christian, recognizing in his policy the importance of his sea-coast.

Roman Catholic Austria has all along been opposed to the nomination of a Roman Catholic Prince to the Albanian throne, because a Roman Catholic King would have suppressed every excuse for "intervention" on behalf of Roman Catholic Albanians. This alone should be sufficient to prove the artificiality of religion in politics.

Austria and Italy cannot be charged with selfishness for wanting a naval base in the Adriatic, since each country looks to its best interests. But Albania must avoid a policy which brings with it absorption by an alien power. The Triple Entente, on the other hand, sees in Albania nothing but a possible source of strength to the Triple Alliance. They look in the first instance to Greece to prevent it: hence the Epirote question. In point of fact, thousands of patriotic Albanians have been described as Greeks because they belong to the Orthodox Church. In eras where the population is very mixed, there is always something to be said for both sides; but the humanitarian sympathies of the

Great Powers always follow the lines of their specific interests.

If King William leaves the country his failure should not be accounted for by the unruliness of the Albanians. The formation of the first Albanian ministry was a grave blunder. There was splendid material for forming a Cabinet of patriotic Albanians suited to cope with the difficulties that beset the new autonomous state. But the progressive element—the Albanians who were bent on directing their country on a broad line of general progress—were rigidly kept out of power. There were only one or two exceptions to this rule, merely to avoid too flagrant a scandal. Turkhan Pasha is, as everyone knows, a distinguished statesman, but he had been for so long out of touch with Albanian politics, that there were problems in the immediate future, by no means insurmountable, but which could only be satisfactorily coped with by men who had remained in close touch with the events in Albania throughout the preceding months. The first Albanian Cabinet was the direct result of foreign influence—a mere façade behind which the Powers could pull the strings.

The one hope of salvation for Albania is in making her sea-coast neutral to the two great rival forces that share Europe between them. She must neither rest on the interested support of the Triple Alliance, nor cause by so doing the antagonism of the Triple Entente. She must escape the claw and the heel. The nationalist element in Albania is very eager to retain the Prince of Wied as their King, but in their desire for complete independence they are inclined to lose sight of the wider issues on which rests the future welfare of their country.

A return to Turkey is the only sane policy that a true statesman, having the vital interests of Albania at heart, can follow. A return to Turkey does not mean necessarily the suzerainty of the Sultan. Events having progressed so far in another direction, a change of rule

would be the source of further dangers to a country which, before everything, requires rest in order to recuperate her vitality. But a return to Turkey can be effected by a close alliance, which would serve the interests of both parties concerned. In the case of such an event taking place, Albania ceases to be a pawn in the game of European diplomacy. She would then be an accession to the strength of Turkey and of Turkey alone. When Albania ceases to be a cause of friction between the rival factions, all the Great Powers will look upon her with equal goodwill. No one wishes war in Europe, but self-preservation is at the root of this over-grasping desire for expansion whenever a loophole presents itself.

Albania's natural destiny is to continue to be for Turkey in the future what she has been in the past: a bulwark. And a bulwark requires some strength at its back, or else it becomes an isolated wall easy to tear down from all sides.

The Albanians are the natural friends and allies of the Turks in the Balkans. The Slav appears to the Albanian precisely in the same light as he does to the Turk. Albania never turned against Turkey in the Balkan upheaval: she found herself separated from Turkey. Her mistake was that she did not make common cause with Turkey, as that would have saved her from the conflicting interests of Triple Alliance and Triple Entente, and all the long tale of misery that ensued. Her independence was proclaimed at a time when it seemed the sole means of showing her survival from the Greek and Slav menace.

The Albanian peasants, both Christian and Moslems, are simple folks. *Agents provocateurs* are busy at work trying to produce disintegration. The Moslem Albanians, quite naturally, would have been glad to retain the suzerainty of the Sultan; but they were prepared to be loyal to a Christian Prince. Dr. Dillon pointed out in a long article in the *Daily Telegraph* that when the so-called insurgents came to the King, it would have required but a little sympathy and understanding of the Albanian character to

conciliate them. An alarm was raised, and the King took to his ships. But he soon realized his mistake, and returned on shore the following day. Christian Albanians, on the other hand, have never feared Moslem rule—the only trouble with the Turks was over the paying of taxes. But they have always been as bitterly—if not more so—opposed to the rule of their Greek or Slav Christian neighbours than the Moslem Albanians.

The idea of a religious war, as the papers have been stating, between the Christian Albanians and Moslem Albanians is preposterous to anyone acquainted with the state of feelings in Albania. The national sentiment is their fetish. They will be neither Greek nor Slav. They got on well with the Turk, but became restive when the Young Turks wished, in their desire for centralization, to take away from them their racial prerogatives.

Turkey finds herself considerably weakened by the ceding of the islands to Greece. If she can rely on a naval base in the Adriatic, it is putting a sword in the hands of one who has nothing left but a blunted truncheon. With Albania united to Turkey, it becomes the duty of England and France to give it the same measure of friendship as they bestow to the Ottoman Empire. The policy of England throughout the last months has caused a good deal of discontent among her Moslem subjects. But an impartial observer will admit that England has never wished for the disintegration of Turkey. Neither has France. Russia is the dangerous Power of the Triple Entente in the Near East, while Austria is the corresponding element in the Triple Alliance, because both are equally desirous of an outlet to the sea. The cry for a port may yet suffice to make the peace assurances of all the Powers waste-paper, and bring on the long-dreaded war.

Russia seeks a port in Norway to Constantinople. The claim of the ever-increasing Slav masses for a longer sea-front becomes stronger every day. It is the great problem of the future.

France leans on Russia and must follow the Russian line of policy because she is afraid of Germany. Depopulation with France is the counter-problem of Slav and Teuton over-population. France gives Russia financial support by buying herself an army which can safeguard her national existence in case of conflict with the ever-swelling Germanic masses on the farther side of the Vosges. England has joined the Triple Entente, having grown nervous of her "splendid isolation." Hence it is that two parliamentary and Liberal powers such as England and France follow the lead of autocratic Russia.

The strengthening of Turkey is one of the surest bases of European peace. With a strong Turkey, Russia cannot think of Constantinople, Germany finds no interests in Anatolia, nor France in Syria.

The position of England in the Mediterranean is becoming more and more precarious. The reincorporation of Albania in Turkey—or close alliance—can be turned into a strong asset by England, if she would but return to something of her pro-Turkish policy of the past, which would be so heartily welcomed by her Moslem subjects throughout the world.

It is true that the policy of the Young Turks has been anti-French in a measure which may serve as an excuse for the alienation of France from Turkey in the last war. But France has tremendous interests there, while, from a merely sentimental standpoint, if England is the proverbial friend of the Turk on the battlefield, the intellectual influence of French thought remains paramount among the educated classes in Turkey.

The Triple Alliance finds her interests also in a strong Turkey, since it is a barrier to the Slav danger. Whether the alliances of Europe could be arranged in such a manner that it would prove more beneficent to some of the parties concerned is debatable. There is no doubt, however, that the two great forces that menace the equilibrium and peace of Europe are the Teutons and the Slavs. They both want

\ pasture for their surplus population and have many young mouths to feed. If Germany and Russia, by a reversal of things, combined forces instead of being antagonistic to their respective interests, who can foretell what stupendous epoch-making changes might take place?

But to return to the practical problems that confront Europe at the present moment, the Albanian sea-coast should be converted into a source of strength to Turkey for the good of all concerned.

England and France have at no time been opposed to Albania as a detached province of Turkey, or as a source of strength to the Ottoman Empire, but, have looked upon it with misgivings as an artificial creation of Austria and Italy. It should now be their endeavour to help Albania to become strong, which would happen of itself if the Powers ceased to tug at her from all sides.

Albania can live as a detached province of Turkey under the suzerainty of the Sultan, or as an autonomous state governed by a Christian Prince as long as her sea-coast ceases to arouse the envy and jealousy of the European Powers.



# PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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## THE POSITION OF SANITATION IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

BY COLONEL W. G. KING, C.I.E., I.M.S. (RETIRED)

WHEN a European proceeds to a tropical country and breaks down in health, the conversational method of summing up the causation is by saying, "The climate did not agree with him"; when an Indian proceeds to a distant locality and likewise breaks down, it is customary to say, "The water of the place did not agree with him." In both cases the persons concerned are represented as helpless victims of circumstances. But, under the general term "sanitation," is included the study of Nature's laws affecting men in all possible aspects and by all yet available means; so that its teaching is conveniently classified under eugenics as to race vigour, and euthenics in respect to factors governing his environment. From knowledge thus accumulated, the sanitarian has been able to lay down the law, "Public health is purchasable. Within certain limitations, a community can determine its own death-rate."\* Yet the sanitarian is no materialist, but gratefully recognizes the overruling power of the Creator, and the blessings for man which Nature's laws hold for the seeking. He is a fatalist only within the meaning so well expressed by Huzaret Umar, when he directed the shifting of camp in the presence of plague. To an inquirer as to why being

\* Motto on the title-page of the *Monthly Bulletin of the Department of Health of the City of New York*.

a Muhammadan he fled, he stated, "With the permission of God, I am running away in the direction ordered by Him."

Public opinion secured, in 1859, a Royal Commission to inquire into the sanitary state of the army in India. They held that neither climate nor race was the great factor of mortality in tropical India, but gross insanitary conditions. They initiated reforms which have reduced the death-rate of British troops from 69 to 4·39, of Indian troops from 20 to 4·48 (including those dying at their homes, 6·78), and prisoners from 82·7 to 30·8 per mille.

Dealing with the civil population, the Commissioners concluded that, in the presence of an organized service of public health and the application of sanitary measures, the people would in time have as healthy lives as those of England. Acting on their advice, the Secretary of State, in 1868, called for proposals for organization both in urban and in rural areas in India. This has since been urged by the provincial Sanitary Commissions, successive Sanitary Commissioners with Local Governments, the Indian Plague Commission, the first Indian Medical Congress, and the Royal College of Physicians, England. But in 1914 organized efforts are confined to municipalities which have a population of 17,000,000, leaving a total of 227,000,000 of British India without sanitary care, or, at the best, with care of an incomplete or haphazard character. These municipalities represent 715 spots in 1,093,000 square miles. In England urban areas contain 78·1 per cent. of the population, but in India they contain only 9·5 per cent. Hence, to say "a reorganization of the sanitary services throughout India" has been effected, as announced, in 1911, by the Government of India, when 90·5 per cent. of the population is without this service, is a "terminological inexactitude."

As the creation of an executive sanitary service organized, on a basis suitable to the locality and races dealt with, is in all countries the A B C of sanitary efforts, it need not be said the anticipations of the Royal Commission have not

yet been realized, so far as civil populations are concerned. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that, although inhibited by many difficulties, sanitation has been barren of results amongst them.

Organized efforts have been carried out only in scattered localities, yet they have been sufficient in number to illustrate what might be done in the future for India were such methods duly extended.

There has, however, been a marked tendency towards improved sanitation over the whole country within the last fifty years, which can be measured in lessened mortality. This may be ascribed to the general influence of the civil authorities, and of reiteration of advice by officers of the Indian Medical Service in civil employ, in urging sanitary requirements; the influence of the English and vernacular Press; the better accessibility of luxuries to a large proportion of the population; the extension of vaccination and sanitary legislation; the excellent organization against famines; the better-than-nothing efforts in certain areas to repress epidemics, as contrasted with the obviously correct policy of preventing them; and the establishment of bacteriological and other laboratories. Nor is it possible to put aside the efforts of education—the financial enemy of sanitation.

The earliest statistics I have been able to find are those compiled by Dr. Strong in Calcutta, in 1837; he found that, in a period of eleven years, the mortality in a population of 229,000 fluctuated from 37 to 81 per mille, that the average death-rate of Hindus was 57, of Muhammadans 35, and of all Indians 51 per mille. Early statistics also show that 23 per cent. of deaths of Hindus were due to small-pox.

In default of other calculations of early date, were Dr. Strong's rate applicable to all India in 1911, the recurring yearly saving of lives would amount to 4,023,913, as the death-rate according to the average quinquennial registration statistics was 34·85 per mille.

The death-rates for 1881-91, as corrected by the mathematical calculations of Mr. Ackland, for Bengal (45·9), Madras (38·0), Bombay (36·4), show that, notwithstanding the existence of plague between 1897 and 1911, for these provinces there has been a saving in the 1901-11 decade of 613,936 lives, had the average death-rate of 1881-91 been applicable to the populations of 1911.

But it is an axiom that a population with a death-rate over 17 per mille is not under correct sanitary conditions. The rate for all England in 1911 was 14·60; the mean five years' rate (34·85) in 1911 as calculated on registration figures (which is, however, below the corrected figures) for all India is more than double this. Of preventable diseases in 1911, fevers claimed 4,207,000, of which 1,000,000 at least may be ascribed to malaria; plague, 733,000; cholera, 354,000; small-pox, 58,000. In 1911, of sixty-four large towns, seven had a death-rate per mille exceeding 70; in six towns, 60; in five towns, 50; in twelve towns, 40; and in nineteen towns, above 30.

Since 1897 about 8,000,000 have died of plague, and this disease, combined with malaria, has caused a loss of population in the Punjab of 1·7 per cent., and in the United Provinces of 1·1 per cent., and by failure to maintain the previous intercensal rate, Bombay has 1·7 less population than estimated.

According to the 1911 Census Report for Bengal, one in every fifth child born dies; in Bombay City, according to Dr. Turner, the Health Officer, the rate varies from 379 per mille of births for the entire city to 419, according to locality. For India as a whole, the infantile death-rate is 213·97 for males, and for females 196. In England, where the question of infantile mortality is far from being placed on a sound basis, the infantile death-rate is 130. In Sweden, where infantile hygiene is in front of other European countries, it is less than 95 per mille of births. What is possible for Sweden is possible for all other nations.

The net result of such mortality upon the expectation of life at birth of the Indian male is, according to Mr. Gal. and other mathematical authorities, dealing in 1911 with the Census of India, 22·59 years, against 46·04 for English males—that is, at birth the Englishman has the expectation of being *a citizen, at the most useful ages, for a period of twenty-three and a half years more than the male Indian*. Sanitary matters in India, in 1837, were evidently much in the same condition as in London in 1660-1775, when the death-rate, *per mille*, was 80 in the first decennial period, 42·1 in the second, and 35·5 in the third; so that the Englishman's expectation of life at birth, 250 years ago, could have been no better than that of the Indian in the present day. Yet, in modern London, with a population of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions, the death-rate is but 14·2 per mille.

In the presence of such mortality, if, as I have said, the creation of an executive sanitary service is the A B C of disease prevention, why does India not possess this both in rural and in urban areas?

Sanitary administration of so large an area as India tends itself largely to decentralization; but a certain amount of centralization is necessary, and has been exercised by the Government of India. Hence, whilst local governments have differed greatly in grades of advance, this has been within their various interpretations of the Government of India's policy—added to by local disabilities.

As to the Government of India, their attitude towards sanitary organization has been chiefly that of inhibition and of devolution. They have slowly but surely deflected, or broken down, the organization foreshadowed between 1863 and 1868 by the Royal Commission, and by the Secretary of State.

As the instance has been quoted officially as justification of this policy, and the unpleasant experience has been ascribed to the evil influence of *sanitary* advisers, the facts should be better known. I refer to the Bombay and Poona riots, which followed their well-meant but misguided efforts

to repress plague. The sanitarians of the Indian Medical Service had nothing to do with the blundering schemes which ignorance of caste customs then permitted. The Government of India preferred then, as now, to ignore the fact that, as years have rolled on, sanitation, although born of medicine, is of age; and that it is engaged on a different profession to that of its father—*the prevention*, not the cure, of disease—and no longer needs his control. As a result, at a time when the Panama Canal will inevitably lead to greater international treatment of sanitation, the Member for Education decides the sanitary policy of India, the Director-General of the Indian Medical Service; an officer ordinarily promoted from the selected list of Lieutenant-Colonels (solely of the Bengal Establishment) for his ability in curative medicine, dictates the policy of its adviser in preventive medicine, and indicates the direction sanitary research should take. The resulting organization is widely different from that contemplated by the Royal Commission of 1859; or, as advised unanimously by the first Indian Medical Congress of 1894, on the motion of our present Chairman, Professor W. J. Simpson, that sanitation should have its own Member in the Government; or, as it exists in the Federal Service of America, in the Local Government Board of England—especially if its recent suggested grouping of services be effected—in the German tropical Colonies and in Spain. In none of these countries is sanitation subject to curative medicine. This is how the matter strikes a foreign observer, as stated by Dr. Guiteras at the late Sanitary Conference held at Santiago de Chile: "It does not seem that the Indian authorities have faced the great problem entailed by plague and cholera with requisite energy. Scientifically they have done so, seeing that they contributed more than anybody else to our knowledge of the first-named disease; but, on the administrative or political side of it, one detects a want of that unity of action, that political strength and determined purpose exhibited, for instance, by the Americans, in the Philippines. In India, on the contrary, one discovers the

same neglect rampant in Cuba during the Colonial period. Instead of preoccupying themselves with yellow fever in India, it were more reasonable, and I should add more generous, to warn us of the danger we are running, in face of this near inauguration of the new route to the Far East."

But, as I am one of those who believe Englishmen rule India with every nerve strained that its people may be more prosperous and its land at peace (although being human they are not infallible in their methods), it is reasonable to believe that, in the opinion of the Government of India, there are sound grounds for their persistent policy of inhibition. They deprecate the "letting loose of sanitary enthusiasts," forgetting that in organized services both methods of procedure and discipline are capable of rigidity; they reject, in rural areas, an extension of an executive sanitary service, on the ground of opposition of caste prejudices—from facts deduced from their own needless experience—and they hold finances are not available for sanitation, on no better ground than allowing other departments to commandeer the bulk of available funds, and then leaving the remnants for sanitation.

Their present policy is, presumably, founded on the theory of securing sanitation by proceeding along the line of least resistance. The spread of education has always appealed to the middle and higher classes of India, and to utilize this means would be obviously popular; especially as education enthusiasts have added a fallacy that in the absence of eugenics, education can secure eugenics.

Of course, if there be race or caste opposition to sanitation, the misfortune of absence of advance must rest largely with the educated classes of India; but the truth is that few, either Europeans or Indians, have taken the trouble to ascertain what is meant by caste in relation to hygiene, and misapprehensions have arisen. Certainly, the Government of India, when, for the sake of uniformity, it permitted the military department to sanction saluting of

Europeans with the left hand, and thus very naturally let its use be regarded as legitimate by the civil population, thought little of the social relation of caste.

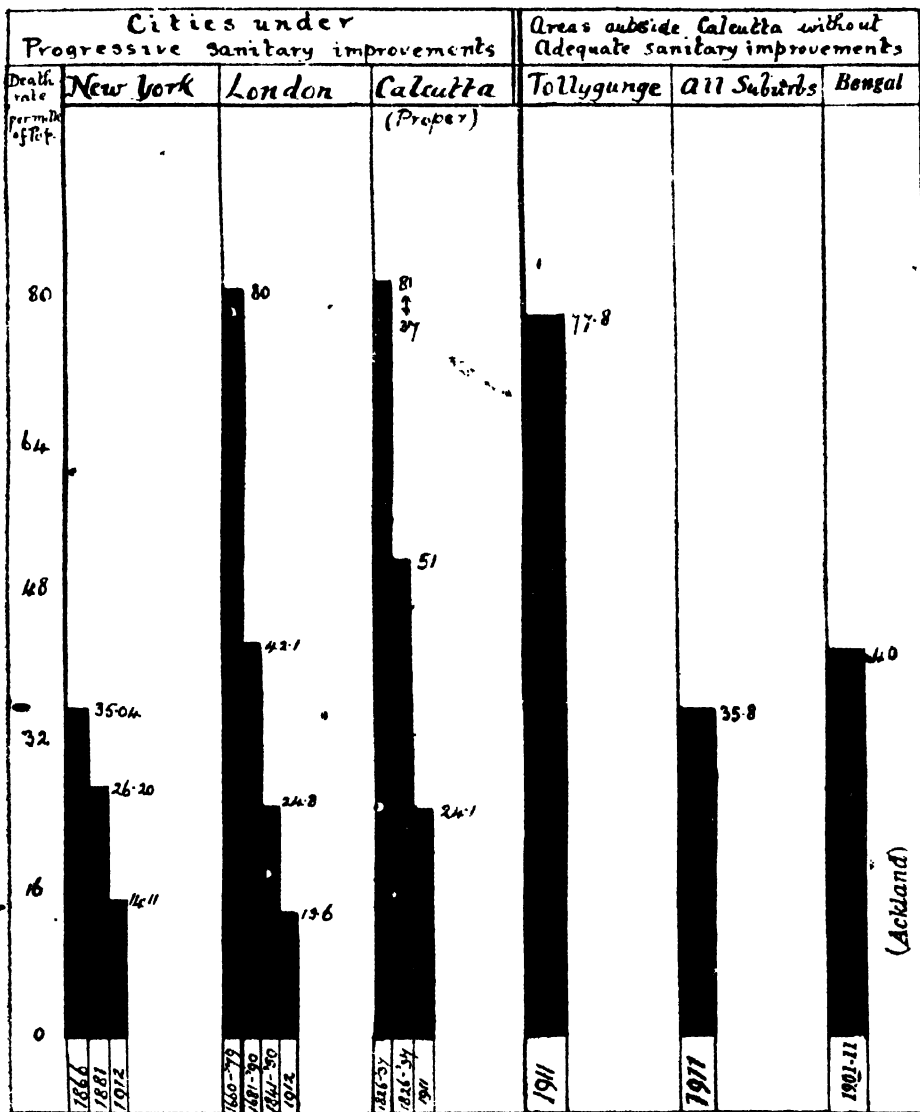
The Institutes of Vishnu and the laws of Manu fit in excellently, so far as the subjects touched go, with the bacteriology, parasitology, and applied hygiene of the West. The hygiene of food and of water, private and public conservancy, disease suppression, and prevention are all carefully dealt with. Here and there in the present day the means to the end differ, but the principles remain unaffected. Even were this not so, the laws of Manu are not those of the Medes and Persians. Whilst malevolent criticism is forbidden, friendly interpretation of the tenets of the Sastras "by reasoning and inference" is sanctioned; even the possibility of change is acknowledged in the event of "custom" differing with the times, as followed by "good and virtuous men." Nor, if racial prejudices are to be considered, can it be held that either by the teachings of the Koran or the Muhammadan traditions, opposition to hygiene can be reasonably exhibited. In Aurungabad, Ahmednuggar, and Burhampore, splendid evidence of Muhammadan appreciation in former days of public water-works exists.

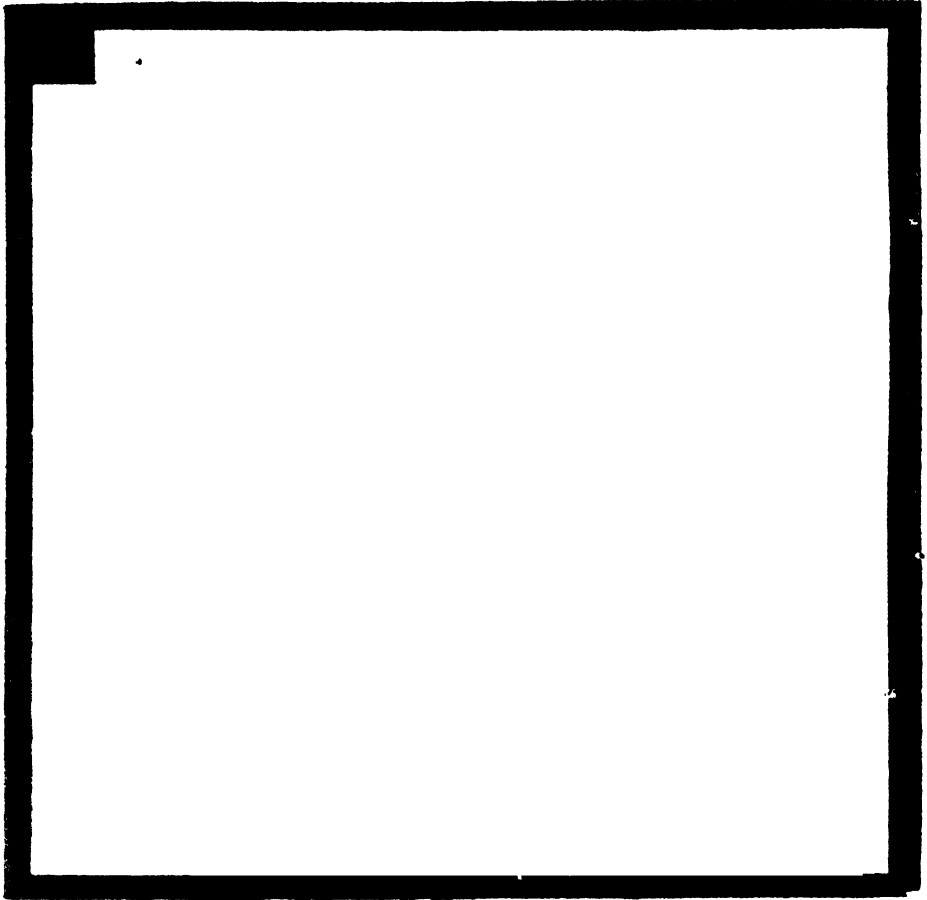
Personally, I have found in the South of India, where caste prevails more tenaciously than in most parts of the country, that in dealing with the knotty question of religious festivals, it was not difficult to secure the support of leading Hindus to refinements of hygiene that could not be enforced by extant laws, by appealing to the fact that my recommendations were fully within the principles recognized by Vishnu and Manu.

The whole objection to employment of an executive sanitary service not only for urban, as recently sanctioned, but for rural areas, can be met by employing (especially in the executive grades where close contact with the people occurs) technically qualified men of the race or of not lower caste than the people dealt with. To suggest that to take this course would result in "letting sanitary



70 *Position of Sanitation in the Administration of India*





THE SQUARE IN THE CORNER OF THE DIAGRAM REPRESENTS PROPORTIONATELY THE 17,000,000, CARED FOR BY AN EXECUTIVE SANITARY SERVICE OF THE TOTAL 244,000,000, OF BRITISH INDIA.

enthusiasts loose," in India is beside the point. It would be, indeed, a poorly organized service that could not be adapted to the requirements of the locality dealt with. I do not speak without experience. Since 1894, all local bodies in the Madras Presidency have been directed by the Government to entertain no sanitary inspectors other than those who have passed examinations approved by them, which demand a higher grade of general and technical education than is now required by local bodies in Great Britain. They have filled all permanent appointments in municipalities as well as in a few districts in rural areas, and have been used for prevention and suppression of epidemics both in rural and urban areas throughout the Presidency. High caste men have been encouraged to enter, so that in 1909, 52 per cent. were Brahmins. In that year, of a total of 683 qualified men, 451 were employed on sanitary duties. Nowhere has their work, under most difficult circumstances, had any mischievous result. On the contrary, they have been a most important factor in making the people understand the kindly intentions of the public authorities, and educating them for disease prevention. Whilst in other areas of India plague has trammelled trade, agriculture, and recruiting, in the Madras Presidency plague mortality has rarely exceeded 0.1 per mille, in the face of an organization that has been little modified from September 1896 to date. The Madras sanitary staffs have always been in advance of plague spread, instead of, as elsewhere, making the much more expensive and yet largely futile effort to suppress epidemics and epizootics several weeks after their origin.

But those who know their India may well object to my rosy picture of the connection between caste and hygiene, when they remember the insanitary habits of the bulk of the lower classes. The neglect of precepts is, however, a very different matter to saying that certain requirements are against these precepts. Further, I grant, here and there, opposition is to be met *nominally* on the grounds of

caste, which have no foundation in fact. Pretensions are also sometimes advanced, which are analogous to the snobbism of social caste as found in this country; the lower the caste, frequently the greater the snobbism, and the less the obedience to the dictum *noblesse oblige*. Both forms can be got rid of by dissection of rights.

If, then, the Government of India have overestimated the difficulties of caste and would trust to education, it is advisable to see how far it is committed to that policy, and whether, as it hopes, the ends of sanitation can be readily attained thereby in rural areas.

Sir Harcourt Butler thus defines the position: "Our first and signal objective is to educate the people as to the value and the necessity of measures for protecting them in their homes and their lives, and those dearest to them, from the ravages of plague and malaria, cholera, and other communicable diseases, and all the miseries which follow in their train. . . . Fortified by the results of research in India, we can leave the future with confidence to preventive medicine and preventive sanitation." The rhetorical appreciation of the effects of existing insanitary conditions is, as might be expected from so versatile a politician, most sympathetic. Yet the "man in the street" interested in the sanitary welfare of India would feel better satisfied with a matter-of-fact indication of what awaiting "the future with confidence" really implies. The Hon. Mr. Slack, in the Bengal Legislative Council, gave a definite reply, withal vague as to time, by asserting that protected water supplies are to be arranged for the people—*when they have been taught to appreciate them*. Mr. Gokhale, who is so largely interested in elementary education, considers that to add 91,000 to the existing 100,000 schools would, at the present rate of progress, require seventy years. So that if we are to trust to education for advance in rural areas, sanitation may see the light there about another hundred years hence. Another estimate may be made by those

who know anything of the household life of the Indian, by adding the rider that even this suggested rate must be conditional upon the education of females being on a scale yet unthought of. The present practical and outspoken Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Madras, Major Justice, in his official Report for 1911, estimates as follows: "It seems to me that until a sanitary service is introduced and sanitary work carried on in a systematic manner, with a correctly organized and adequate sanitary staff capable of dealing with recommendations of reporting officers, and maintaining the measures introduced, we must rest satisfied with such sanitation as is possible under the existing conditions. To wait till the people are educated will be to indefinitely postpone the evil." Dr. Turner, the Health Officer for Bombay, holds the following opinion: "The only education in sanitary matters these people understand is laws and by-laws, and this is the form education should take. The millennium will have arrived when they voluntarily carry out sanitary matters."

But, putting aside the length of continuance of "all the miseries" Sir Harcourt Butler so feelingly depicts, is there any truth in the belief that the people must be educated before their mortality can be reduced by sanitary efforts applied to their environments—euthenics? And, here, I must ask it to be fully understood that I believe in the efficacy of education in advancing sanitation, speaking generally, and that what I desire to urge is not an objection to education *per se*, but, in this particular case, to the absolutely hysterical manner in which its claims have recently been advanced as a substitute for sanitation, and as a panacea for all the evils of India: whilst sanitation—the foundation of economic progress and of content of populations—has been treated with a *placebo*. Either Sir Harcourt Butler or Lord Beaconsfield was wrong, for this is what the latter held to be correct statesmanship: "The reforms directed towards the advancement of public health must

ever take precedence before all others." And again, "that the health of the people was the most important question for a statesman." This is the opinion of Sir C. Trevelyan, which was expressly concurred with by the Royal Commission of 1859-63, as to the necessity for application of sanitary measures to the civil populations of India: "I consider that not only the preservation of life and health is concerned, but the strength and comfort and general efficiency of the population are involved; they would be better and abler men, women, and children for all the purposes of life, if the average standard of mental and bodily vigour were improved by the removal of these local causes of a low state of health." Indeed, in no country in the world has it been suggested that the progress of sanitation should halt, so that education may advance as its pioneer!

In Great Britain elementary education was not compulsory till 1870, but in 1848 the first series of sanitary reforms under the Public Health Act of that date were carried out. By 1851 the First Housing Act was enforced. Here, however, is the practical experience of the Board of Education of England, as stated in the Report for 1912-13: "It is now realized that health is more important than knowledge, and that without health little knowledge will be acquired."

The officer responsible to the Education Department for effecting its policy (the Director-General of the I.M.S.) has a want of faith in education that is somewhat startling, having regard to his support of its dicta on other occasions. At the Second All-India Sanitary Conference, he gave the following opinion, which I quote from the official Report: "One thing I should like to add is, although I entirely agree with Major Liston's remarks about the ignorance of educated Indians as regards sanitary measures, yet they apply equally well to a large number of educated Europeans."

Education by pamphlets in sanitary matters is another

amount per annum to ~~£~~20,398,113. This is assuming that this million cases of deaths are limited to a class of coolies earning five rupees per month, age distribution of the population being allowed for, and proportionately treated; whilst, as a fact, malaria spares neither sowcar nor politician.

There has been by no means general approval in certain of the provinces of India of the idea that the inhibition policy of the Government of India is to be continued as to rural areas; consequently, there are being evolved extraordinary compromises. In more than one area, the old fallacy of mixing the cure and prevention of disease is seen in the development of "travelling dispensaries"; in another, money is distributed in doles to rustics under the premiss that sanitary science is intuitive, and that the logical sequence is that funds being limited, they will be devoted in order of urgency; in others, large sums are devoted to improvement of water-supply, whilst it is forgotten that, even in the presence of mechanical arrangements, pollution by flaws in structure, or altered sanitary conditions of the drainage cone or catchment, can only be met by zealous inspection by *technically trained men*. In other parts of India, the dictum that education is the panacea for sanitation has been received by district boards with the resolution to wait for its happy results; and, in the meantime, to use funds that should go to sanitary advance towards capital for railways. Railways are, I consider, essential factors in economic progress; but as there is ample proof to show that in India they are paying investments, it is not for district boards to fail to stem advancing mortality that they may enter the market of trade. If, as is the case, they are paying investments, capitalists are doubtless at their disposal. At the present moment, there are district boards paying absolutely inadequate attention to the sanitation of their areas, whilst raising special funds for railways by extra local taxation.

Irréspective of the *festina lente* policy, in the official opinion, there are "no funds" for sanitation in rural areas. Of course, if district boards elect, as at present, to spend an

absurdly disproportionate part of their income on academic education, so that the population may be comfortably educated before they are cremated, there must be left less for sanitation upon which the racial and economic progress of the country depends. A wiser and more legally correct course in the public interest, would seem to be to spend a reasonable and proportionate amount for the various demands upon their funds authorized by the Acts they administer, and before concluding that an executive sanitary service would be prohibitive in cost to ascertain facts by estimates in detail. For example, for a reasonably sound sanitary scheme, *worked in detail* for rural areas, which at the present day may require improvement, I found, in 1897, that if municipalities spent in Madras 1·92 per cent. of their income as an additional charge, or a total of 4·85 on sanitation and vaccination staffs, local boards 4·28 per cent., and provincial funds 0·43 per cent., this apparently so-called "prohibitive" requirement could be met.

Not only do district boards spend a disproportionate amount for education but its claims, when acting *per se* to life-saving, under which it calmly classes officially the Sanitary as one of its "miscellaneous departments," are very far from demonstrable. The corrected intercensal death-rate (1901-11), according to Mr. Ackland, for the United Provinces is 46, Punjab 43·3, Bombay 35·8, and Madras 33·4 per mille, whilst the expenditure per cent. on district board incomes, minus fees received, for education, amounted to 27·8, 20·1, 34·8, and 6·8 respectively. In the same order, the amounts spent on vaccination and sanitation and water-supply were 2·05, 1·8, 7·2, and 5·8 respectively. The mortality rate for Bengal is 40 per mille, notwithstanding one existing primary school for every three square miles; the percentage of income, minus fees, spent on education by District Boards, is 16·7 for 1913-14. The other rates are not easily found, as owing to territorial changes sanitary charges are doubtful; but, in 1909, only 0·5 per cent. of income was spent on combined sanitation and vaccination, *plus* 1·4 per cent. on water-supply. The Bombay figure of 7·2



is good under water-supply, but, in expenditure for sanitary organization is but 1·8, whereas Madras gave 4 per cent. In the latter Presidency Mr. Ackland's rates show in the 1901-11 decennium, as contrasted with that of 1881-91,\* a decrease of mortality of 4·6 per mille, whereas in Bombay the decrease amounts to 0·6 per mille only. Clearly, therefore, if these figures are of any value, success lies with the Madras Presidency, not with the greatness of the educational grant, but with sanitary expenditure on works—subject to its being allied with the best approach to a sanitary organization in India. That is, the influence of eugenics is paramount.

This disproportionate and haphazard treatment of sanitation and of education is not confined to local bodies. The same treatment is given to the former when grants are made from Imperial funds. Thus, in Budget speeches in England and in India, much has been heard of sanitation being financed 73 per cent. beyond preceding years, and that (in all modesty) education advanced only 78 per cent.; whilst, by taking the three previous years into account for sanitation, the extraordinary result of 112 per cent. was trumpeted. But to increase the five rupee wages of a coolie 112 per cent. would not make him the co-equal of a man whose income, being already in thousands, is increased *only* 78 per cent. Such figures leave out the not unimportant fact that between 1902 and 1911 education has received snowball recurring Imperial grants (starting at £266,000), till the sum of £560,000 was reached, and this has swollen in 1914-15 to £820,000, against £283,000 for sanitation, or, according to a questionable interpretation of "sanitation," £306,000. Sanitation, however, received no recurring grants whatsoever till 1908; so that between 1902 and 1914, what with grants recurring and non-recurring from the Imperial and Provincial Govern-

\* In a later calculation, Ackland credits increase of mortality, per mille, as follows: Bengal, 2·8; United Provinces, 8·5; Bombay, 9·2; Punjab, 10·2; against Madras, 0·7.

ments, the amount received by education, has been in millions of pounds—about seven times more than for sanitation. Comparisons between expenditure on education and sanitation are often also rendered fictitiously favourable by the simple expedient of speaking of sums as devoted to education *and* sanitation together, and adhering to the anachronism of Indian Budgets of classing sanitation under the head “medical,” and clumping medical relief of disease with its prevention. As to proportionate expenditure for education since 1900, the pupils increased 52 per cent., with an increased cost of 109 per cent. ! Obviously, the brainy men of the Educational Department are obeying Gladstone’s indication to “mak sicca.” They are bent on ear-marking all possible funds by steady additions to recurring grants from Imperial, provincial, and local sources. It requires no prophet to say, therefore, that sanitation which is fed on “doles” during exceptional prosperity, must be checked in progress in the presence of war, famine, or trade depression, whilst education will sail gaily on. The Government of India doubtless knows where education is leading them to financially ; but it is remarkable that no forecast of the cost of expansion under the present educational policy has been made public. In the meantime, education threatens funds for the defence of the country and its railway expansion.

Divested of the glamour of recent non-recurring doles, which will materially aid sanitary advance in municipalities, my review of the existing conditions leads me to believe that the present position of sanitation in the administration of India, regarded as an Empire, is as poorly defined and incomplete in regard to the general population as in 1867 ; both as to its sanitary service and the unsatisfactory arrangements as to finances devoted to it, and which led the Secretary of State in his Despatch of 1868 to inform the Government of India, “I have expressed my approval of the appointment of special Medical Sanitary Inspectors for each Government, and administration immediately

subordinate to Your Excellency in Council; but I desire now to be informed of the organization, by which it is proposed, under the Medical Sanitary Inspectors' supervision, to secure the health and cleanliness of towns and villages under each Government. In large towns, the municipalities will be rendered available for this duty. I would ask further what arrangements will be made for attaining the same object in small villages." The Army Sanitary Commission, in 1867, in urging the same requirements, added: "In doing so it might be very desirable to raise the whole question of inspection, executive, and finances."

If, as I have suggested, the Government of India have, in the public interests, restrained sanitation in the honest belief of obstacles which do not really exist, is it not clearly the duty of Indians "of light and leading," in the interest of the lives of their fellow-beings, to remove false impressions? In young India, men vie with each other in finding some new way for what they hold is the salvation of the country. But, there is no new way to find. No amount of academic talk of rights and wrongs, will help to find a new way. Patiently, and with self-abnegation as to local taxation, in the belief that "health is purchasable," as has been shown by the citizens of London, in reducing their death-rate from 80 to 14·2 per mille, they must press their countrymen for change of social customs leading to unproductive expenditure, displace the sowcar and his heartless drain of India, and by euthenics, not solely of theory by education, but of demonstration by sanitary works and organization for disease prevention, hasten the progress of eugenics, and direct the energies of a healthy and vigorous people thus evolved towards the development of the enormous resources of the country. On this old road, trodden, painfully of necessity, by all nations which have attained the front rank of civilization, will be found ultimately health, wealth, and content for India.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a Meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, May 27 1914, a paper was read by Colonel W. G. King, C.I.E. (I.M.S., retired, formerly Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Madras), entitled, "The Position of Sanitation in the Administration of India." Professor W. J. Simpson, C.M.G., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Bradford Leslie, K.C.I.E., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. H. R. Cook, Lieutenant-Colonel B. J. Singh, I.M.S., Captain R. D. Saigol, I.M.S., Mr. H. Pennington, Mr. Md. Yamin Khan, Khan Bahadur Rustom Jehangir Vakil, Mr. I. S. Haji, Mr. G. A. K. Luhani, Mr. H. H. Hamed, Mr. L. H. Hamed, Mr. H. Rogerson, Colonel Wilkinson, Mr. B. H. Singh, Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Mr. C. H. Payne, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. B. N. Sarma, Mr. T. Summers, Mr. S. Digby, C.I.E., Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Sparling Hadwyn, Mr. John Lee-Warner, Mr. J. Bonner, Mr. B. Dube, Mr. A. G. Bagshawe, Mr. H. Das, Colonel Gordon Young, Mr. Maurice Hyde, Mr. R. Maitland, Mr. R. W. S. Marmar, Mr. Francis P. Marchant, Mr. P. Phillipowsky, Captain King, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in introducing Colonel King, who is going to address us on the position of sanitation in the administration in India. I do not think there is anyone more fitted to give a paper like this. (Hear, hear.) He was the Sanitary Commissioner for the Madras Presidency from 1893 to 1905, and, by the organization which he arranged for in that Presidency, he was able to keep it in the forefront of sanitation; the plague there has been less than in any of the other Presidencies, and that speaks a great deal for his organization. Then he was Inspector-General in Burmah, and Sanitary Commissioner there for some short time. He knows Burmah very well, and I had the pleasure of meeting him on the same platform twenty years ago in Calcutta, and, curiously enough, the subject that we were then discussing was the one that we are going to discuss to-day. I have much pleasure in introducing the lecturer.

The LECTURER, who was received with applause, then proceeded to read the lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I think that you will all agree with me in saying that the facts presented by Colonel King in relation to the vital statistics of India are very remarkable. Briefly, they may be summarized in this way: the death-rate of the whole of India is more than double that of England. The death-rate varies in sixty-four towns from 30 to 70 per mille, and the expectation of life of the young Indian at birth is twenty-three and a half years less than that of an English child. He has mentioned that there are annually 1,000,000 deaths from malaria, and over 250,000 deaths from cholera; that small-pox destroys thousands of lives annually, and that there were in the sixteen years since plague began some 8,000,000 deaths from that disease. I do not think that anyone can be satisfied with this condition of things. The lecturer has pointed out very clearly that the high mortality in India is dependent on removable causes, and that any reductions that have been effected has been mainly due to the influence and advice of that distinguished service in India—the Indian Medical Service. By urging the removal of gross insanitary conditions they have been able to effect a considerable change in many places; they have succeeded in reducing the death-rate of the natives in the army to nearly 5 per 1,000, and similarly in many localities good work has been done where there has been an organized service. Calcutta is mentioned as having its annual death-rate reduced from eighty in the olden times to twenty-four at the present time. Many of you will have read Dr. Busted's book, and will remember a description of his where the citizens of former days who survived after the rains met under the great banyan-tree on the Maidan and congratulated themselves that they were alive. Now a very different state of things exists.

There can be no doubt that India at the present time is in a largely defenceless condition against epidemic diseases, because it is without that organized executive sanitary service which Colonel King mentions, and which he in a measure introduced into the Madras Presidency, and which has been so powerful in checking epidemic disease there. The defenceless state of the country was recognized by the Indian Medical Service in 1894 at the Indian Medical Congress, and by all the medical profession of India who were present at that Congress, and they unanimously recorded that certain reforms ought to be taken in hand in regard to Indian sanitation. Briefly they were these: That a specially trained and separate sanitary service should be arranged for, just as the Public Health Service in England is separate and quite independent of physicians in connection with the hospitals or of those in private practice; then, that there should be schools of hygiene and preventive medicine, and also of sanitary engineering, and that diplomas should be granted to those who were trained in those schools; and, fourthly, that laboratories for research should be established in various parts of India.

Now, Colonel King has handled the Government of India rather severely, and I think I ought to perform a new rôle and take up their defence. The Government of India have followed up the lines of these recommendations, not wholly, perhaps, but certainly in part. Seven hundred and fifteen municipalities are to have an organized sanitary service; laboratories

have been and are being established, and diplomas in public health are to be established. They were established in Madras many years ago, and schools of hygiene and sanitary engineering are being created. It may have taken numerous pressings from time to time for the Government of India to move, but it is to its credit that it has at last moved, and promises to move much farther. I entirely agree with the lecturer when he says they have not moved enough, and have made a retrograde step in the matter of effective administration. The movement forward only represents provision of a sanitary service for the protection of 10 per cent. of the population. One may ask what is to become of the other 90 per cent. ? (Hear, hear.) In England and Wales we have 1,700 local Medical Officers of Health, 40 county Medical Officers of Health, and in the Central Department of the Local Government Board 26 medical men. Just compare that with India, which, excluding Russia, is the size of Europe.

Under the new scheme there are to be 25 Sanitary Commissioners, 12 Deputy Sanitary Commissioners, 34 first-class Medical Officers of Health, and 104 second-class Medical Officers of Health. One can hardly recognize that as being an adequate service for India, and one has to go back to the old position—that until a proper sanitary service for India is formed, which would be a splendid outlet for young Indian medical men and women, things will not progress as they should do.

Then there is another objection. It is that the sanitary organization is not a separate service as regards the Government of India. It is separate in the different presidencies or local governments. The head of the sanitary service of the Government of India is not one of the experienced Sanitary Commissioners of the local governments, who should have been promoted to the important position of Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India when its late Sanitary Commissioner died. Instead of a man like that having been appointed, a retrograde step has been taken, and a very talented and distinguished medical man, who deserves all the honours he has received—for his medical services, and not for his sanitary services—has been appointed as the adviser of the Government of India on sanitary matters, for which he has not been trained. Under these circumstances difficulties must arise. Another retrograde step is that the sanitary service has been placed under the Minister of Education. I wrote once to the *Times* on this matter when it was being mooted, and pointed out that the sanitary service had been placed under the Educational Department as a sort of miscellaneous item, along with archaeology and matters of that description. With a *régime* such as this, one is not surprised that essentials in reference to sanitation are at the present moment being neglected. We hear a good deal about research, and research is much cheaper than the *application* of sanitary matters. No one has a greater respect for research than I have. A few years ago I urged that sanitary research and administration should go hand in hand. (Hear, hear.) That is the real position. At the present time a great deal of research has been done—very useful in its way—and no doubt it will be fruitful of results; but I consider that the application of sanitary measures on the basis of what we already know is the urgent need of India. (Hear, hear.) I will

give you an illustration of this. Supposing the Government of India had been asked to construct the Panama Canal, the kind of proceedings they would have introduced with the present *régime* would have been to send out men to make researches; they would not have based their actions on the discoveries already known of Ross and Finlay, as the Americans have done. These investigators would have found that the mosquitoes there were a little different from what they were in other places where malaria and yellow fever existed, and under the circumstances the recommendations would have been made to postpone the matter until a further discovery was made. (Laughter.) I am convinced that sanitation will not receive adequate attention in India until there is a Minister of Health whose duty is concerned solely with sanitation and the health of the population.

This paper ought to do an immense amount of good. Like everything else, there may be criticisms in it which, along with my own remarks, might very well be left out, but I invite all those present here to give a full expression of their opinions on this very important matter. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD, in opening the discussion, said: I have listened to Colonel King's lecture with the liveliest interest, and with greatly bettered instruction on the subject of it:—treated as it has been by Colonel King, at once with the enthusiasm he has always shown in the discharge of his public duties as a sanitarian, the fullest illumination, and the most commendable moderation; and, as a brother medical man, I heartily wish him all success in the benevolent cause to which he has so ably and courageously devoted his long and distinguished public service under the Government of India.

- But it is everywhere, and in everything, and always, wisest for statesmen, and administrators, and their official, and officious, advisers, to be controlled by the spirit of Pope's lines:

“Be not the first by whom the new is tried,  
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside:”

and in nothing is it more wise than in the consideration and adoption of measures of public sanitation, particularly in India. Is there really an unquestionable virtue in lowering the death-rate of a country, and raising its birth-rate, a rabid rage for which has been rampant in Germany and France for the past forty years? It is a physiological law—*i.e.*, inevitable fact—that the population of a country always increases on the supplies for its subsistence; and with the more rapid and cruel economic oppressiveness, the more peaceful, and prosperous, and powerful a country becomes; and the operation of this physiological law, and its economic consequences, unless counterbalanced by devastating wars, and famines, and plagues, and by ritual murders, such as infanticide and *ŷati*, or by wholesale emigration, must end in either effective bloody revolutions—but effective only for from three to four generations,—or in ineffective legal revolutions, aiming at the division of every kind of property equally among all the people of a country, than which nothing could be more disastrous and destructive to its people themselves, individually and collectively. I am reminded of “moral

restraints." Nonsense! They are all equally unnatural—in the words of Claudian :

"Vivunt in Venerem frondes ;  
... nutant ad mutua palmæ  
Fœdera ; populeo suspirat populus ictu,  
Et platani platanis, alioque adsibilat alnus."

The common sense of the matter is that sanitation is desirable, not for the purpose of decreasing the death-rate and increasing the birth-rate, but to make life healthier and happier for those strong and well born enough to survive the sharp struggle for existence—that alone is the test of one's worthiness to live. This is the sanitation that is for humanity as "the airs from heaven"; but the sanitation that exists in the survival of the unfittest, of children ill born, and of unemployable and useless men, that allows the weeds to choke the trees in "the Garden of God," is as "the blasts from hell." I remember the illustrious Professor, Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart., when I was a student at Edinburgh, 1849-54, saying that the time would come when all unfit humans would have to be more or less pleasantly "translated." There is no microbe or bacillus more terrible to mankind than a superfluous man—that is, a useless man, or one suffering from incurable disease, or past the extreme Biblical age of eighty, or the Hindu age, *chaurasi*—i.e., eighty-four—the age of entrance into *Nirvana*. It may, indeed, be well said—Æschylus has as much as said it—that there is no sanitarian equal in acceptability and efficacy to death; and it is incomprehensible that fanatical sanitarians should hesitate to look that fact full in the face.

Then in India—India of the Hindus—we have to beware of what, in our ignorance and heedlessness, we stigmatize as popular "prejudices," but which are in reality the unbroken tradition of the immemorial sacrosanct personal, domestic, social, and communal habits and customs of a people of the same Aryan stock as ourselves, who were civilized centuries before us, and who in their sense of personal, domestic, social, and communal duty and conduct, and in their literary and artistic and religious culture, still remain centuries ahead of us; and are behind us only in scientific knowledge, and military genius, and political wisdom. But surely we ourselves betray "a plentiful lack" of political wit in seeking to force upon such a people, against their grain, "reforms," and, in particular, "sanitary reforms," their concurrence with which we could so easily secure by accommodating them to their own idiomatic (*sevami, istilai*) prescriptions and usages. When Inspector-General A. H. Leith, M.D., the greatest physician of his period in India, undertook the preparation of his series of mortuary returns for the Town and Island of Bombay, and again, later, when I was directed to prepare returns of the rainfall throughout Western India, invaluable as they were for the private information of the Government, I always protested against their being published in the weekly official *Gazette*, and continued so to do long after leaving Bombay in 1869-70; arguing that, whereas increased mortality and diminished rainfalls had hitherto been uncomplainingly attributed to the will of the gods, in future, blame for them would be laid, with ever augmenting weight, upon the



shoulders of "the British Raj." And this was incontinently done ; and these returns have proved to be, in my opinion, one of the subsidiary causes of the so-called "unrest in India" which, between 1909 and 1912, caused so much quite unnecessary anxiety within the insulated limits of Great Britain. The unrest in India is the unrest we find in the United Kingdom and the United States of America ; that is, the unrest of people who, in consequence of prolonged peace and great prosperity, so far as statistical returns of moral and material progress can attest it, have outstripped the means of their own maintenance : the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer than ever through the inevitable fall in the market rate of wages. This unrest has been exasperated in India within the narrowly restricted class of Indians who have been officially educated as if they were Englishmen, without the Government having, by the development of the reproductive resources of the country on European lines, previously provided for them adequate chances of a livelihood commensurate with their scientific attainments and Western culture. We have unfitted them for earning their daily bread in the hereditary occupations of their forefathers ; and we have done nothing in the way of opening up to them the alien professions for which we have so assiduously trained them. And, looking beyond these Anglicized Indians, the unrest in India, due to economic causes, is found to be yet more poignantly emphasized in the recognition of the widespread psychical anguish from which Hindus of all castes are suffering, through the weakening,—as a direct consequence of the atheistical, often, in fact, the antitheistical, system of public education we have enforced on the country,—of their faith and hope, and joy and gladness, in the gods of their forefathers.

Colonel King has more than once referred to the Code of Manu. From the first chapter to the last I know it as I know our English Bible ; and I regulated my whole intercourse with my Hindu friends in India by it ; and I always found it a wonderful mediator between myself and them. Like our—Israel's—Old Testament, it is draughted throughout in conformity with the soundest principles of philanthropy, as distinguished from the impulses of a visionary humanitarianism, and while frankly recognizing that all men are equal before God, it as clearly recognizes that they are altogether unequal between themselves, and regulates their mutual relations in the closest concordance with this flagrant and offensive fact, the ignoring of which, during the period of their racial decline, A.D. 100-400, so greatly contributed to the downfall of the pagan Romans ; and to the political impotency of all the states of Islam, that in succession rose and fell in Anterior Asia, and Africa, and in Eastern and Western Europe, and in Central and Southern Asia ; and again, to the degradation of Christian Spain in Mexico and South America. It is the caste system of the Code of Manu—notwithstanding its failure to protect the Hindus from the evils of miscegenation—that alone has preserved to them intact their unique system of social economy and religious polity,—both as compatible with Christianity as with paganism,—through nearly 1,000 years, from Mahmoud of Ghazni to Sivaji, of the direst political revolutions and military disasters ;

and if ever they repudiate it, it will mean their social and religious destruction and their extinction as an historical race; and stand to the enduring discredit, of England as an Imperial power. It is due to the Code of Manu that the Hindus are personally, and domestically, and communally, the cleanest and healthiest people in the world. Where else do you see such splendid teeth as in the mouths of the Hindu men and women? And where is long, lustrous hair so crowning a glory to woman as among the Hindus? And what stronger witnesses can there be than these to the health of individuals, and communities, and races? If enthusiastic sanitarians in India will only seriously study the "Code of Manu," edited by the late Professor George Buhler, as the twenty-fifth volume of "The Sacred Books of the East" (the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1886), they will soon learn to find in it the justification of every reasonable sanitary "reform" they would wish to recommend. Lord Elphinstone in particular, and also Sir George Russell Clerk, and Sir Bartle Frere, whenever they had to deal with any proposals likely to prove objectionable to the scruples of the Hindus, used always to hold consultations on them with scholarly Englishmen, such as the Reverend and Learned Doctor John Wilson, of the Free Kirk, Bombay, and their *shastris* ("instructors") and *pandits* ("learned men"), who nearly always were able to give advice, which not only deprived the contemplated measures of all offence, but won for them the approval of the most orthodox, even the most bigoted, Hindus.

I am entirely opposed to the idea of begging public education in India for the richer endowment of public sanitation in India. Both education and sanitation in India must be extended *pari passu* with each other; but much more on vernacular than arbitrary foreign lines; when at once the Code of Manu would be found the powerful mediator of a new covenant in sanitation between our English scientists and educated Indians, Hindus, and Moslems; a covenant, moreover, which would open an unlimited field of occupation for English educated young Indians, and provide for them in unrestricted numbers for the next three or four generations. I am also very strongly of opinion that public sanitation in India would be both more economically and effectually administered by the municipal and other local authorities, than directly by the Government of India. The beneficent effects of such a reform—educational and sanitary—would be quite magical.

COLONEL WILKINSON said that he had not come prepared to speak, and as he was still an official of the Government perhaps it was not wise for him to do so, but he would like to say, in strong support of Colonel King, that his very long experience gave him every right to say what he had said. He had a still stronger right, and that was that his teachings in Madras had now been accepted by the Government of India, and had been circulated throughout India as the model upon which other Provinces were to base their methods of sanitation. (Hear, hear.)

MR. B. DUBÉ said that he made no pretence to understanding the science of sanitation or medicine, but he confessed that the lecture had produced a very great impression upon his mind. He felt that it was a serious indictment against the Government of India, which had not done

as much as it ought to and might have done. To his mind, what stood out most prominently was that the Government of India had had advice from the Royal Commission and other sanitary authorities as to the urgency and the necessity for reforms in sanitation, but owing to certain fictions, such as the idea that the people had some prejudices, they had not bestowed that attention on the subject which its importance deserved. The prejudices that existed could be removed very easily by educating the people as to the value of sanitation. Neither the religion of the Hindus nor that of the Muhammadans taught anything but what was pure sanitation; it was not as if they were barbarous races, quite the contrary: their cleanliness was very hard to beat. That being so, the question of prejudice to his mind did not seriously exist.

Then again, nothing could be more absurd than that the Sanitary Department should be only a miscellaneous item of the Education Department. It was not only the people of India who had prejudices, but the brainy pundits in England had theirs as well. Surely it was impossible to say the poor would get poorer and the rich richer as a result of adopting scientific methods of sanitation, education, etc. He thought there would be no difficulty in living down that form of prejudice.

The Government of India ran after too many things—even to the changing of capitals; they were very fond of spending millions which they could not even estimate. When they found a Government spending money on extravagances and ignoring for the time being the needs of sanitation and education, it was simply foolish to say they had not got the money for it. The primary duty of every Government was to look after the health, both bodily and mental, of the producers of wealth—*i.e.*, the ryots of India. The Government of India had adopted a machinery which gave better conditions to the towns by appointing Commissioners of Health. But it seemed to him the primary duties were neglected. He trusted the lecture would receive the serious attention of the Government of India which it so richly deserved. (Hear, hear.)

SURGEON-GENERAL EVATT said he had enjoyed the lecture immensely; it was an exceedingly important lecture concerning the well-being of India, and he regretted the absence of ladies, because he wished to say that it was largely to the devotion of a woman that Indian sanitation came to the front. (Hear, hear.) He referred to the late Florence Nightingale, whom he had the pleasure of knowing quite intimately, and with whom he had spent hours in discussing Army questions. Undoubtedly she was the saviour of the health of the Army—she forced the War Office, when she came back from the Crimea and Scutari, with great courage to deal with sanitary matters. In his opinion, she was the greatest woman citizen England had ever produced. The result of her intervention had been that the improvement in the health of the Army had been an enormous gain to the Army and to the nation. In olden days the Army Medical Corps, he admitted, were largely crushed by ignorance in high places. He instanced the cases of Lord Wolseley in Egypt, who ran down the sanitary service, and General Buller in South Africa, who took no sanitary officers out with him. He was glad to see now, however,

that the sanitary service of the Army was stronger than it had ever been, and it was due to this direct application of knowledge that human progress had come. No doubt they would remember how Lord Palmerston crushed the prejudices of Scotch authorities. When cholera came to the town of Peebles, they said they must have a form of prayer to abolish the cholera. Lord Palmerston wrote back: "Go back and clean your middens!" In India he had seen one hundred soldiers die in a year of cholera, as many as twelve dead in one tent at one time; and cholera was the very acme of insanitation. Happily, the health of the English soldier in India had never been so good as it was to-day.

He hoped that the lecture would be printed in the vernaculars, and that it would be sent all over the Indian continent.

MR. SARMA said that his only excuse to speak on the subject must be that he belonged to the Province of Madras, for which the lecturer had done so much. He could assure them that his name was a household word in Madras, and that everyone there recognized the good work that had been done by him. They were under a great obligation to him, and also to the East India Association, for the lecture, and they all hoped that good results would follow from it. The Indian members of the Legislative Councils had been urging on the Provincial Governments to take more interest in the question of sanitation than they had done in the past. So far as personal cleanliness in India went, the Indian people were very cleanly in their habits, but it must be admitted that from a communal point of view they had a great deal to learn from Europeans; they would have to teach them the way to lead cleanly lives when they were congregated in large villages and towns.

He thought two departments—the medical and the sanitary departments—must be divorced from one another; the lecturer had laid great stress upon that, and he believed the Government of India were alive to the immediate necessity for that separation. One reason given why the Government of India had not tackled the problem was its immensity, and the question as to where the money was to come from. The question rested upon this: that more capital must be invested in India. Where it was to come from was immaterial, but there was the net factor to be faced that more money must be forthcoming for the creation of a sanitary service. As chairman of a municipality, he had had to fight cholera and small-pox, and he found the men who had been trained under Colonel King's scheme were immensely valuable in helping him. He did not think the people of India were prejudiced against modern scientific methods, because in the case of small-pox epidemic their cry had been: "Give us more vaccinators."

In conclusion, he could only repeat that the Government had the problem before them of—Where was the money to come from? That seemed to be the crux of the whole question. They recognized that the problem had to be dealt with, and he was sorry to see that Colonel King had attacked the educational standpoint of the Government of India to such a large extent. They must remember that the people of India were so miserably poor that they could not be taxed for these numerous im-

provements that were suggested. In some villages women were to be found who were willing to work for the miserable pittance of one penny per day. The moment cholera or plague attacked these people, hundreds perished because they were so poor. By neglecting sanitary precautions they had undoubtedly been losing all along the line.

MR. GHULAM-AMBI K. LUHANI said he would like to emphasize the need of a clearly-defined sanitation policy on the part of the Government of India. Considering that millions were carried away every year by cholera and small-pox, it was really very remarkable how the Government could have tolerated such a policy as they had done.

Colonel King had referred to two difficulties urged in defence of the Government's halting policy, or lack of policy, in sanitation: firstly, the question of prejudice; and, secondly, the question of finance. Sir George Birdwood had referred to the plea as to the difficulty which the Government experienced in forcing on the people sanitary measures. Cleanliness was next to godliness, and those who were familiar with the principles which guided the Indian in his social customs would readily admit that this plea was rather a weak one. The lecturer had referred to the inordinate amount of attention which was given to the question of education. While not supporting him in that statement, he (the present speaker) would surely urge the creation of a new department for sanitation. He did not think that was too much to demand in a matter so vitally connected with the health of the people, and he thought Colonel King's paper was a move in the right direction. (Hear, hear.)

The LECTURER, in reply, stated: It has been suggested by one of the speakers that education should be concomitant with sanitation. With this opinion I need not say I heartily agree, seeing that it is the argument I have tried to enforce; and I think nothing I have said is in discord with that opinion, or opposed to the supposition that, in India, were the admittedly limited available public funds impartially distributed between the two important requirements of sanitation and education, the latter would not always be to the sanitarian a welcome ally. What I have attempted to represent is, that the Government of India have accepted the fallacy of the Education Department that, in rural areas, education must precede effective sanitary efforts, and that education enthusiasts, taking advantage of the historical hesitation of the Government of India to advance sanitation, have, under the cover of this fallacy, assumed a control of sanitation which is professionally incongruous, contrary to sound statesmanship, and inconsistent with the relative importance of sanitation and education in the economic progress and successful administration of India or of any other country. I hold, I think justly, whilst I have acknowledged education as one of the factors in advancing hygiene during the last fifty years in India, that, under the present régime, education is the *financial* enemy of sanitation. I have said that in no part of the world, except India, has it been required that sanitation should halt—that education may precede it.

In further illustration of this universal experience, I would invite your attention to the recently published official Report by Lord Kitchener, on the progress of Egypt in 1913. This displays no lack of appreciation of

education, but, nevertheless, there is no halting in pushing forward schemes for sanitary and economic progress, on the "wait and see" policy of education. Nor, whilst Lord Kitchener rightly lays down that research as to the nature of diseases will yet teach us much, and must be encouraged to the full limit of available funds, does he hesitate to employ *practically*, and at once, such knowledge as is available for the benefit of the people. Indeed, in Egypt, research is not to proceed, as I have said is the case in India, in "vicious circles"; nor will it afford brilliantly gilded excuses for the absence of *applied* hygiene. The description given in this Report of the evil conditions of the Egyptian villages, might well be written of those throughout large areas of India. But, whether the schoolmaster be there or not, Lord Kitchener has definitely stated his intention of taking in rural areas what I have insisted is the first step of effective sanitary effort, namely, the organization of an executive sanitary service. In this case, there will be sanitary inspectors for groups of every ten villages; whilst registration and vaccination are now attended to by a lower grade of indigenous labour with elementary sanitary training. Alluding to a campaign against anchylostomiasis, he points to the *essential of conservancy* in villages, and indicates his intention of this being at once attended to. Yet, not one per cent. of villages, in which the bulk of the total population in India resides, has any attempt at conservancy; although intestinal parasites are so common amongst the inhabitants that they commonly ignore their significance, while dysentery, diarrhoea, and cholera claim, annually, about 400,000 lives. In short, Lord Kitchener—an admitted master of organization—has arranged, in the language of the Report, that "education will go hand-in-hand with sanitation"—not *precede it*. Nor, in Egypt, will curative medicine be confused with the rôle of the sanitarian; for Lord Kitchener holds, "the building and the equipping of our hospitals for the treatment of diseases is undoubtedly a worthy and indeed a necessary object, but it fails to strike at the root of the matter. . . . Prevention is better than cure," and, after indicating the necessity for further research, he states, "In the meantime, we are justified in taking up immediately active preventive measures to combat the prevalent diseases I have mentioned; and steps in this direction have already been taken and will be pushed on with vigour."

Sir George Birdwood refers to "prejudices," and tells us of difficulties attending the introduction of mortality statistics in Bombay. The people were asked to accept what, to them, was a mere abstract idea, and one has at once an illustration of the hopelessness of teaching hygiene in the slum environment, against which the authorities quoted by me inveigh. Just as the people could not realize the benefit of statistics, so, at the hands of schoolmasters, they will fail to esteem the benefit of public anti-malarial measures and of protected water supplies, when presented to them as something to imagine—not to see. But Sir George Birdwood laid no stress on the important fact that, notwithstanding the "prejudices," the Government did its duty to the people by requiring the measures to be carried out; just as unfounded "prejudices" have not prevented them finishing a bridge, for the sound structure of which the people held a human sacrifice was necessary; or from proceeding with the relief of the

famine-stricken, although they bolted by the thousand in fear of being exported bodily to the Mauritius. Such "prejudices," if not engineered, disappear, as I have said in respect to caste, by calm dissection of rights ; and, if engineered, they are but some of the thousands of equally readily available opportunities not confined to the realms of sanitation. In short, Sir George Birdwood's reference helps us to realize that academic education, when unaided by demonstration, has but a poor sphere of utility. The Agricultural Department has long grasped this truth when dealing with the ryot. According to Mr. Wood, of Madras, mere talk has little effect ; what the ryot desires is to be shown actually (and economically) improved crops. Similarly, the true way of teaching a rural population the benefits of sanitation is to stay their epidemics, and improve their environments ; and I can here testify, within my own experience, that not only is the utility of sanitation thus easily forced home, but, with the conviction, there is appreciation and gratitude which can be excelled by no race. For this work, the Sanitary Inspector, the technically trained man of the people and in constant contact with them, is the most suitable schoolmaster, even if allied with the primary school product. Nor is it only the ryot that can be educated by demonstration. It is the quickest way to deal with the 2,000 per annum supply of graduates furnished by the Education Department of India, who have hitherto displayed eagerness in little but education and abstract politics, and seem to forget that the "lifting of the masses" can be most rapidly acquired, not solely by primary schools, but by economic development, coupled with *applied* hygiene. Curiously enough, the Education Department, which is in charge of Museums, has ignored the influence of demonstration upon the educated by supplying Museums of Hygiene ; although, as far back as 1882, as Special Sanitary Officer for Madras City I officially pleaded for this method of education, and subsequently attempted its realization. Similarly, Industrial Exhibitions are essential as part of *educational demonstration*, in inducing the floating of capital for development of trade and commerce.

I am naturally highly gratified to find that so great an authority on Hinduism as Sir George Birdwood agrees with me in thinking that it is perfectly possible, within the lines of caste rulings, to institute an efficient system of modern hygiene.

I have to thank Colonel Wilkinson and Mr. Surma for their kind reference to my long connection with sanitation under the Government of Madras, and to assure the latter gentleman that I look back with the greatest pleasure to the kindly manner in which my recommendations were treated by the various public authorities concerned with sanitation, of whom he is himself, as a municipal chairman, an able representative ; and to add that as I have not, in my retirement, lost my warm regard for the people of my old Presidency, I am glad to find that as I built on the foundations laid by my predecessors, so my successors are strenuously continuing the good and humane work of disease prevention. The life-saving results thus secured have served to confirm my thesis as to the advantage of co-operation of education with sanitation—as a friendly department serving

the same Government—as contrasted with the professionally and financially unjustifiable supremacy of education now enforced by the Government of India.

MR. R. F. CHISHOLM: In proposing a hearty vote of thanks both to the lecturer and to the chairman, I feel certain that I express the views of everyone present when I say that we have listened to a most able and interesting lecture. The learned lecturer has placed his views of sanitation before us in so lucid a manner as to promote a full discussion, and we all leave this room much wiser on the subject than when we entered it. I feel certain you do not want to hear anything from me on the subject of sanitation! I would only beg leave to make one remark. Sanitation seems to be involved with municipal work. I do not exactly know how it will bear on the subject, but Fah Hien, a Buddhist traveller, came to Delhi in the fourth century of our era, and recorded this statement: "There are no municipalities, and the people are happy!"

In seconding the vote of thanks, Dr. Pollen said that the Association was deeply indebted to Professor Simpson for his kindness in presiding. He was a master of the subject dealt with, and had rendered noble service to the cause of sanitation in various parts of the world. Dr. Pollen cordially agreed with his friend, Surgeon-General Evatt, in considering the paper with which Colonel King had favoured them, one of the most important papers in connection with the well-being of the peoples of India that had ever been read before the Association. He noted with full appreciation what Colonel King had said in his reply about the objection raised by Sir George Birdwood with regard to effective sanitation on the grounds of undue increase of population. Dr. Pollen was one of those who held the view that India was in no sense over-populated. No doubt there was congestion in parts, and the population was badly distributed, but the Empire of India could afford to increase and multiply with confidence without putting any undue strain on its resources, provided social customs were amended and sanitary laws stimulated and enforced by the people themselves. Nature had never yet, in any country, refused to respond to the demands made upon her by increased population, but opened up everywhere sources of supply from her hidden treasures previously undreamt of by mankind. He believed in the First Commandment, with promise: "Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth, and you will subdue it." He begged to second the vote of thanks to the chairman and lecturer, and this was carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said: There is only one matter I would like to point out, and that is in reference to sanitation and education. We have no objection to education, but what we do object to is very nicely put by an Indian gentleman, who said, with reference to education and sanitation being under the Minister of Education, it was like a man having two wives. Upon one—education—he showered all his favours, and only gave a small dole to sanitation—the other—when the public eye was upon him. (Laughter.)

The proceedings then terminated.



## JAPAN SOCIETY

A PAPER on "Chinese Influence on Japanese Lacquer" was read by Dr. A. A. Breuer, M.R.C.S., on Wednesday, May 13, 1914. The paper deals with the few shreds of information pertaining to the connection between Chinese lacquer-work and the Japanese lacquer previous to the sixteenth century. The use of lacquer juice as a means of decoration, or for the waterproofing of leather armour, is recorded in Chinese literature as far back as the Book of Odes. It has been further proved by the discoveries of Stein. Dr. Breuer has for some time given his attention to collecting Chinese lacquer, and specimens from his collection formed a conspicuous display at the Chinese Art Exhibition held at Whitechapel last year. He was fortunate in obtaining from Dr. Kummel the loan of a manuscript work on Japanese lacquer, written by Professor Noritake, Tsuda of Tokyo, and thus to supplement the information gathered from the writings of the Jesuits and other sources.

Chinese lacquer consists chiefly of painted lacquer and incised lacquer (the latter were being often a *lac* composition rather than true urushic varnish), and inlaid lacquer on which mother-of-pearl forms the designs. The first style has been vastly improved upon in Japan, where the pictorial treatment has brought about refinements of technique and variety of design wholly foreign to the Chinese. Incised and carved "lacquer," red or red and black, have remained to this day a truly Chinese article, well known under the names of T'suishu, T'suikoku, and Peking lacquer.

The author has shown a fair grasp of his subject, but one can sympathize with him in his desire for more accurate information. It is doubtful, however, whether that will be forthcoming. The Japanese records appear to have been thoroughly sifted, and it remains for the sinologists to supply further details. The collection treasured in the Shosoin gives an inkling of the high state of perfection of many arts in the T'ang period, during which the articles were sent to Japan; but we know little or nothing of their actual origin, or which part of China they came from. The troubled state of Japan, and the internal wars at various times during the ninth to the sixteenth century, militated greatly against even the Shosoin collection being entirely respected. Relations with China were often broken and renewed; but little is known of the presents sent from China during the Yuan and early Ming periods, except

by allusions in the literature; it is known that Japanese lacquered articles went then to China. The paper is a useful contribution to the study of the subject, and it is hoped that it may be enlarged upon when more information is at hand. At present Chinese lacquering, as carried out in Foochow, is but a paltry reflection of the glorious technique which has made Japanese lacquer a thing of unique beauty. How little self-styled "experts" know of the subject is sometimes incredible. An "art" paper recently gave it in an "Answer to Correspondents" that "Japanese lacquer was distinguishable from Chinese by the introduction of Fuji Yama in the designs." Now both the inquirer and his informant have a good chance to know better.

HAKUSAI.

## THE ALLEGED ATROCITIES OF THE GREEKS IN MACEDONIA\*

ON May 6 last a letter appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* making such extraordinary charges against the Greeks in Macedonia, that Colonel Haywood, a member of the Council of the Anglo-Hellenic League, at once took steps to prove them. He wrote to Mr. A. Pallis, a prominent member of the League, and a man of excellent standing in England, then travelling in Macedonia, and asked him to investigate them. Mr. Pallis embodied the results of his investigations in the form of a memorandum to Colonel Haywood, of which the following is a brief outline. He takes the charges one by one.

The *Manchester Guardian* wrote :—

1. "A Servian officer, Kosta Simitch, stationed with a detachment on the Greco-Servian frontier, and apparently ignorant of the policy pursued by his own Government, sent in recently to his superiors an indignant report of the daily outrages carried out by the Greeks in the neighbourhood, and of the numerous dead bodies of Bulgars which are thrown almost every night by the Greeks into Servian territory."

This was taken from the *Echo de Bulgarie* of April 1-14, which wrote as follows :—

"The commanding officer of a Servian detachment stationed on the Greco-Servian frontier has lately

\* With acknowledgments to the Anglo-Hellenic League.

found, in different parts of his district, decomposing bodies. The commanding officer decided to take action.

“However, by order of the Government, M. Kosta Stoganovitch, ex-Minister, and still ‘Chef de la Commission de l’accès serbe à l’Archipel,’ gave the over-scrupulous commanding officer to understand that, on account of high State interests, these atrocities of their neighbours on the south must be overlooked.”

This is what appeared in the *Echo de Bulgarie*. The writer in the *Manchester Guardian* has further embellished this by stating that numerous dead Bulgarians were thrown into Servian territory “almost every night,” and that there were daily outrages carried out by the Greeks.

However, M. Kosta Simitch noticed the report of the *Echo de Bulgarie*, and wrote to the Salonika paper, *La Liberté*, the following letter, which appeared in its issue of April 4-17, in which the following passages occur :—

(1) I am not the commanding officer of a Servian detachment, but the Customs officer at Ghevgheli.

(2) As Customs officer I have not to make circuits on the frontier, and consequently I could not make the discovery which is attributed to me.

(3) That, knowing nothing of corpses being discovered, I could not make any report to Mr. Stoganovitch.

(4) For the same reason I had no representations to make to the Government.

Consequently, all these sensational statements connected with my name by the Bulgarian Press are pure inventions.

K. K. SIMITCH.

I have seen the original of this letter.

I am afraid that whoever has supplied the *Manchester Guardian* writer with this information thought that he had to deal with credulous persons. Because, what would be

the excuse for throwing dead Bulgars so constantly into Servian territory? Are the Greek authorities compelled to proclaim their evil deeds by showing their victims to the Servians?

2. "At Salonika, where the Bulgarian population is small, Greek agents visit them at their houses, and demand that they should publicly renounce their nationality, and embrace the true orthodox faith. Otherwise they are given twenty-four hours within which to quit the city."

This was also taken from the *Echo de Bulgarie*.

In order to hear what the Bulgars themselves had to say, I called at the warehouse of the principal Bulgarian merchant of Salonika, Mr. Hadji-Mitcheff, whose nephew, I understand, was the Bulgarian representative at Athens at the time of the declaration of the Greco-Bulgarian war.

When I read out the above extract to him, he at once told me there was not a word of truth in it. Then I asked, "Has anybody visited your house or your warehouse with such a demand?"

"No, no one."

"Have you been molested in any way?"

"No. Two days after the Greeks captured the Bulgarian garrison in Salonika this warehouse was opened, and neither then nor ever since have we been molested in any way. Why," he said, reaching for a parcel from one of the shelves, "here are Bulgarian flags—I have fifty-two of them in stock; nobody has taken any objection to my stocking them."

"What is, then, the reason for so many Bulgars leaving Salonika?"

"Because of a dislike to live in a Greek territory. Look at what is stated in this newspaper"—the Greek newspaper *Phos*—"against the Bulgarian nation; exactly the same things are reciprocated in the Sophia newspapers against the Greeks. In this way the poison of mutual dislike has

penetrated too deeply, and it makes it quite unbearable for Bulgars to live among Greeks, or for Greeks to live in Bulgaria."

"Are your churches closed?"

"No, there is one open."

On hearing this, I proceeded to the Bulgarian church. I there asked a Bulgarian priest: "Is there a service here every Sunday?"

"Yes, at eight o'clock."

"Carried on in Bulgarian?"

"Yes."

"Do the police molest you?"

"No. On the contrary, a police officer visits us here every evening, and he has told us that if anybody interferes with us, we are to report to him, and he will punish him.

3. "The Salonika and other prisons in the neighbourhood are crowded with Bulgarians, who would not yield to these conditions, and a number of them, including a priest named Christo Shapcareff, have succumbed to the foul conditions obtaining there."

This was also taken from the *Echo de Bulgarie*.

I have visited the chief prison here—that of Yedi-Koule—which is within the old fort on the top of Salonika, and here are the numbers of the inmates:—

Greeks and Turks, 320 (in about an equal proportion).

Jews, 24.

Bulgars, 20.

At the other prison of Salonika, that of St. Elias, where prisoners are kept awaiting trial, I found five Greek-speaking Bulgarians.

I asked some of the Bulgarians in the Yedi-Koule prison as to the crimes for which they were undergoing punishment. Not one of them said that he was there because he would not renounce his nationality.

With regard to the deaths of Bulgarian prisoners, I have

examined the register kept at the prison hospital, and found that their number, from the beginning of the year, has been five, inclusive of the priest Christo.

4. "Again, what is said of the Bulgarians is also true of the Muhammadans, and even, to a certain extent, of the Jews."

The way this paragraph is expressed shows how careless and loose the writer is in stating facts. One would have concluded therefrom that also Muhammadans and Jews are asked to join the Greek Church, and that any one who refuses is expelled within twenty-four hours. But I am sure the writer does not mean this, but only that the Muhammadans, and, to a lesser extent, Jews, are very tyrannically ill-used.

I will deal with the Jews first.

I went straight to the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Meyr. When I translated to him what is stated in the *Manchester Guardian*, he said gravely: "It is nothing but lies. You can say from me, it is nothing but lies."

"Are the Israelites molested?"

"They have never been molested since the Greek occupation. For two or three days after the Greek troops entered Salonika, some small thefts took place; these I brought to the notice of Prince Nicholas, and the matter was put right at once."

"I understand, then, that the Jews have got no grievance against the Greek Administration?"

"None whatever. We rather felt it as a hardship that we were obliged to close on Sundays, but when we brought this before Mr. Venizelos, he gave orders for us to be allowed to open on Sundays, and now we are absolutely contented."

I asked, then, whether there is an undue proportion of Jews in prison, and His Eminence told me that at the Jewish Easter he inquired at the prison—the St. Elias prison—as to the number of Jews detained there, so as to

send them unleavened Bread; he found that the total number was six, whereas there were eighty Greeks. Considering that there are more Jews than Greeks in Salonika, the small proportion of Jews in prison rather points, I think, to leniency on the part of the police, and bears out what His Excellency the Governor-General has assured me of, that Jews in Salonika are the object of special solicitude on the part of the Government.

With regard to the Muhammadans, as I stated before, the number of prisoners in the Yedi-Koule prison is about the same as that of the Greeks. I asked several Turkish prisoners what the nature of their crime was, and in no single instance was I told that it was the result of persecution. They are the ordinary cases of burglary, larceny, etc.

I asked whether it was true that at Serres, as reported in the *Manchester Guardian*, the Moslem schools were taken from them and converted into Greek schools, and they said that as the Greek schools were burnt by the Bulgars, the Greek authorities did, by arrangement, take the Turkish schools, but paid rent.

Wishing to know how order was maintained in Salonika when formerly disorder was rife, I asked the Cretan Captain of the gendarmerie whether there were days when his bulletin was blank, and he told me that such was frequently the case. As to murder, the last one was committed more than a year ago, a Jew having quarrelled with a Greek soldier, and stabbed him. In fact, the orderly appearance of Salonika is unmistakable.



## REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM

BY PROFESSOR EDOUARD MONTET

### THE HEBRAIC LANGUAGE—THE OLD TESTAMENT— MANICHEISM

WE have to mention and to recommend a new review, the aim of which is to promote the study of the Hebrews : "La Revue Hébraïque,"\* edited by M. Glouch, one of the students of Hebraism, who, as far as our experience goes, is the best writer in the tongue of the Old Testament.

L. Gautier has published a second edition of his "Introduction à l'Ancien Testament."† It is an excellent work, quite scientific in character, in which the results of the researches into the Old Testament are weighed and discussed. We cannot recommend it too highly to our readers.

Professor E. Naville, in a work of the greatest interest,‡ puts forward an opinion as original as it is paradoxical. He tries to prove that the Old Testament was not written in Hebrew, but in Babylonian Cuneiform. He bases this astounding hypothesis on the fact that the inscriptions of Tel-el-Amarna prove that in the epoch of the eighteenth

\* Paris : E. Leroux.

† Two vols. Lausanne : G. Buidel et Cie.

‡ "Archæology of the Old Testament : Was the Old Testament written in Hebrew ?" London : Robert Scott, 1913.

Egyptian Dynasty—that is, a short time before Moses—the language written in Palestine was Babylonian Cuneiform. That is what might be called a gratuitous statement; the inscriptions of Tel-el-Amarna show that Babylonian Cuneiform was the official and international language: they prove nothing more. As to maintaining that Hebrew was nothing more than the dialect of a very small district (Jerusalem and its environs), and that the Hebrew Old Testament is only a translation from the Babylonian, that is disproved by the history of the Hebrew language and the originality of the text of the Old Testament. A student of Hebrew will never admit such statements. The fact is, it is in the interests of a very conservative thesis that E. Naville brings forward such paradoxes: it is to prove that the Pentateuch is Mosaic, written entirely by the hand of Moses in Babylonian Cuneiform. E. Naville is entirely ignorant of Old Testament criticism, to which he refuses to attach any value, whilst ingenuously asserting it in his book.

H. Gressmann has published a most valuable book on Moses and his times.\* It is arranged in four parts:

1. Analysis of tradition.
2. Facts from literary history (old songs, legends, etc.).
3. Facts from profane history (arrival of the Hebrews in Palestine and in Egypt, Goshen, Sinai).
4. Facts from religious history (the religion of the Hebrews before Moses, the works and religious institutions pertaining thereto, their form of worship, religion, and morality).

In the course of this bulky volume, a great number of problems and questions are raised and examined, and a scholarly solution is offered to many, in the light of criticism. We could not enter into the details of these learned studies; we shall only repeat a single sentence which appears to us as good as it is just: "On being

\* "Moses und seine Zeit, ein Kommentar zu den Mose-Sagen." Gottingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913.

transferred from Sinai to Jehoval, from being the God of nature, becomes a God of history."

We are delighted to bring to your notice a remarkable work on the text of Leviticus according to the Septuagint (manuscript versions of the LXX, quotations in the Fathers and in ancient writings, existing fragments of the Hexaples). The work is by Harold M. Wiener.\*

A. Causse has published a large and very interesting volume on "*Les Prophètes d'Israël et les Religions de l'Orient*."† The author endeavors to bring to light the origin of Israelite Monotheism. It is not, to be exact, an original work, but it is a work well and conscientiously done, which estimates all the scientific discoveries on this subject in recent years. The most interesting part of the work is where the author studies the discoveries of Monotheism which have been made in the ancient Orient (Egypt and Babylon). It is to be regretted that the author has not added Mazdeism. There are in his work some excellent pages on the Prophets and their monotheism.

Under the title of "*Recherches sur le Manichéisme*"‡ have appeared three very interesting studies by F. Cumont and M. A. Kugener. The first of these treats of the Manichean Cosmogony according to Theodore bar Khoni, Nestorian Bishop of Kashkam, from the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century. In an appendix F. Cumont writes an interesting study concerning the legend of "The Seduction of Archontes" and on the omophore that Theodore bar Khoni calls, "The bearer who, kneeling on one knee, supports the world." The second study, which is by M. A. Kugener, is an extract from the 123rd homily of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (A.D. 512 to 518), which is a refutation of the Manichean doctrine. We have this homily in a Syrian translation

\* "*Studies in the Septuagintal Texts of Leviticus*" (reprinted from the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*"), 1913-14.

† Paris: E. Nourey, 1913.

‡ Brussels: H. Lamertin, 1908-1912.

taken from a Greek version of the original Syrian text. In spite of this translation of a translation, the homily has been preserved for us in a form that is faithful to the original. The third study, by F. Cumont, is relative to a brief Greek inscription from the ruins of Salone, to the south of the Basilica Urbana (Dalmatia), which mentions—a very rare occurrence—the Manichean character of a virgin named Bassa.

#### THE ARAB LANGUAGE—ISLAM

Lieutenant M. Depui, of the French Colonial Infantry, has published an interesting French-Arab dictionary of the dialects spoken at Djibouti and in the neighbouring country, Dantali, Somali, in Yemen, and at Aden.\* The Arabic given in this collection is a combination of the dialects of the Yemen, Aden, and Egypt. We are delighted to notice, each time such publications appear, the study of the Arab tongue by the officers of the French colonies. There are in this picked corps some distinguished students of Arabic, who render great service in forwarding the knowledge of the Arabic language.

The first three volumes of the "*Chronographia Islamica*,"† by L. Castani, have appeared; they go from the year 1 to the year 65 of the Hegira. This publication will render the greatest services. For each year of the Hegira there is first of all a picture of concordance, day by day, with the Gregorian year. Then all the events of the year are enumerated in chronological order, and each of them is followed by a bibliographic note; finally the necrological events are given year by year, with a special bibliography for each death.

The second volume of "*L'Histoire des Arabes*,"‡ by L. Huart, published a few months since, covers the period from the Crusades to our own time. After having gone over the fortunes of the Mamalukes, the author gives the

\* Paris: E. Guilmots, 1913.

† Quarto. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1913.

‡ Paris: P. Geuthner, 1913.

history of the Moslem empires and kingdoms in Spain, Morocco, Arabia, and the Soudan. We have read with special interest what he writes of Spain and the Soudan (the Mahdi). Three chapters of very great interest disclose the commercial and diplomatic relations of the Moslem states with the western powers, and the growth of literature and science amongst the Arabs. A valuable index is added to the volume; annexed is a chart which is unfortunately quite inadequate. The conclusion gives precise results that we shall condense into a few words: Islam, through all the wars that she has waged and the perpetual changes that she has undergone, has proved incapable of arriving at a stable and lasting state; that is, in fact, the present failure of Islam. But, on the other hand, the distinguished part that Arab language and literature have played and continue still to play assure to Islam a brilliant future and assign to her the task of moral teacher, not only to all the Moslem or Islamic peoples, but also to all those (and they are many) who are in the way to be converted to her.

"Islam and Socialism"\* is the title of a Moslem publication which comes to us from India, the author of which is S. Muslim Hosain Kidwai. It is an interesting work. The author formulates his thesis in the following manner: "To us (Moslems) Socialism means an organized, continuous, and harmonious co-operation of individuals in all the affairs of life, whether industrial or economic, administrative or political, social or religious, with a view to securing universal well-being and prosperity. The more general, the more brotherly, and the more equally balanced that co-operation is, the better would be the constitution of Socialism." It is certain—such is at least our conviction—that Islamism is a form of religion with a socialistic tendency, and that, consequently, slight points of agreement can be named between Islamism and Socialism, as it is understood in Europe. On this point, we go farther than

\* Printed at Allahabad, 1913 (Luzac and Co., London).

the author, who gives to the word Socialism a particular sense, differentiating it from European Socialism.

Some interesting publications on Islamism have appeared in Spain. The first is an erudite work on Moslem Law of Inheritance, according to the Malachite rite, by Jose A. Sanchez Perez.\* This treats of the very complicated question of Moslem succession, and has been written according to the manuscripts of the "Biblioteca del Centro de Estudios historicos à Madrid." Several plates give facsimile reproductions, in Arab and Spanish, of the tablets condensing the Moslem Malachite Law of Inheritance.

Professor Miguel Asin has published a work of great interest on the original Arab of "The Dispute of the Ass with Brother Anselmo Turmeda."† Fr. Anselmo, born in the island of Majorca in the middle of the fourteenth century, was ordained priest, went to Tunis, where he became a Moslem, and died there in the odour of sanctity in 1420. He wrote in Arab, towards the end of his life, a book of polemics against Christianity. Previously, he had written his treatise on the dispute of the ass, of which only a French translation remains, copies of which are extremely rare.‡ This encyclopædic treatise, which proves the profound acquaintance of its author with animals and their habits, is only, as M. Asin shows, plagiarized from an Arab work of the tenth century, "The Dispute of the Animals with Man," forming the twenty-first part of the Arab encyclopædia of the "Frères de la Pureté (Ikhwan Assafa), a philosophical association of the tenth century of the present era.§

\* "Particion de Herencias entre los Musulmanes del Malequí." Madrid, 1914.

† "El Original Arabe de la Disputa del Asno contra Fr. Anselmo Turmada (extracto de los 'Estudios de filologia romanica')." Madrid, 1914.

‡ "La Dispute d'une Asne contre Frère Anselme Turmeda." Pampe-luna, 1606.

§ Broctelmann, "Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur," 1898.

## CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

By H. L. JOLY

LES PÈRES DU SYSTÈME TAOISTE, by Dr. Leon Wieger, S.J. ; LES VIES CHINOISES DU BUDDHA, same author, both published by *Grilmote*, Paris, Rue de Mézières (1913-1914, n.d.). A BRIEF HISTORY OF EARLY CHINESE PHILOSOPHY, by Daisetsu Teitaro Suzuki. (London: *Probsthain*. Price 5s.) 1914.

The study of Chinese philosophical systems and their interpretation into European languages is a task of such magnitude, and so thankless withal, that one almost wonders at the energy of the sinologists who, in the past, gave us translations of the classics. Thoughts clothed, or rather hidden, in a language at once vague and of apparently calculated obscurity were made known to us by Legge and others ; but the French reader, notwithstanding Julien and Remusat, had little to draw upon in the way of translations until the advent of Couvreur, Chavannes, and Wieger. To the general reader, however, the extensive translations and commentaries are needless. In these days of hustle, short, readily assimilated books receive the greatest favour, and this has been well understood by the publishers of various small handbooks giving the gist of the philosophical systems and religions of the Far East. Dr. Suzuki's brief history of early Chinese philosophy is probably intended for popular consumption. Its contents were originally printed in 1908 in the *Monist*, and after revision form three chapters, concerning themselves solely with the early teachings of Confucius and his school, Laotze and his followers, together with a sketch of Chinese religious conceptions. The author does not praise, nor does he condemn ; his opinion of the Chinese is that, being a people not endowed with a speculative turn of mind, like that of the Hindus or the Greeks, their reasoning, however subtle, never wavers from a practical earthly groove. He tells us that "they refuse to be carried up to a Heaven where pure ideas only exist"; and that "another thing which is sadly lacking in the Chinese mind is logic," leaving the reader to puzzle for himself the correlation between the two statements. The history of early Chinese philosophy previous to the fall of the Han dynasty consists chiefly in the antagonistic influences of Confucius and Laotze, until 213 B.C., when Buddhism, finding its way to the Middle Kingdom, spread quickly,

and, in a way, grafting itself upon the Taoist teachings, prepared the revival of literary and artistic splendour of the later Tang and Sung dynasties. The first chapter of Dr. Suzuki's little book takes us through the primitive speculations on the dualistic *Yin - Yang*, hidden in the puzzling pages of the "Yi King," then unfolds the severely practical positivism of Confucius and the doctrine of the *Tao*, principle of the whole Universe, expounded in Laotsze's "Tao Teh King," and in the works attributed to his followers. In this latter doctrine, the Buddhist idea of the Rokudo, the six everlasting recurrent states of existence exposed by Eshin Sōzu is adumbrated, the world appears to run in an eternal cycle, where necessity is the chief law; hence "those who either want to limit their life or aspire after an eternal life are equally wrong." Yet there is a difference, for the Taoists did not admit of a life after the earthly death, and their debased followers sought to obtain immortality in this world, to enjoy, with their body whole and sound, that which a questionable immortality after death did not promise. To that end the best means, as taught by Laotze ("Tao Teh King, 43), were inaction and silence, a *laissez-faire*, *laissez-aller*, taking the path of least resistance in all things. The man who followed only his own heart followed the Way (Tao). In the pages of Dr. Wieger's "Pères du Système Taoiste" we find the original Chinese texts and the French translations of the "Tao Teh King," of the two works which complete its interpretation—the "Chung Hu Chen King" of Lieh Tsze, the "Nan Hwa Chen King" of Chwang Tsze, from the (Chinese) texts of which Dr. Suzuki has drawn many examples. Curiously enough, Lieh Tsze in one anecdote (I. 16) anticipates and refutes, all at the same time, Proudhon's dictum, "La propriété c'est le vol." Yes, says Hiang to his would-be imitator, all appropriation is theft; even life is the theft of some particles of the *Yin* and *Yang*. But to steal from Nature is a common duty, whereas to steal from man is reprehensible. The belief in the wholesome and pre-ordained interference of the *Tao* in the affairs of man is illustrated by the parable of the white calf, the whole trend of which recurs in another story, that of the horse of Shaiwo.

Suzuki's second chapter deals with the ethics based upon Confucius' conception of *Jen* (jin, hito), meaning humanity and solidarity all in one, from which spring all virtues, but yet so abstract a term, and so involved in the Confucian manifold connotation, that the author seriously questions whether Confucius himself had a clear analytical comprehension of it! Dr. Suzuki does not seek to draw parallels between Confucian ethics and Japanese beliefs, but he quotes, on page 58, moral precepts which the Japanese have synthetized in the Three Mystic Apes conspicuous at Nikko, and there are other instances. Summing up the differences between the two schools, he sees in Confucius the representative of the Northern fighting races, in Laotze the son of the generous South, relying indolently upon the gifts of Nature. If Chinese philosophy verges towards the practical rather than the speculative, Chinese religion solves the problem of individual worship, with an admirably thorough delegation of the whole to the Emperor; he is the only person fit and proper to address either the nebulous Shang Ti or the equally vague Tien, which represent the supreme intelli-



gence and the starry heavens respectively. Heaven's vengeance upon the evil-doer was visited upon the right individual, without partiality, but the supreme being abstained from that personal, direct intercourse with the *οἱ πολλοί*, which characterizes the Semitic God. If, however, the exalted ruler of the nation was unworthy, if his rule degenerated into favouritism and tyranny, then the Ti or the Tien caused a more worthy person to overthrow the tyrant, and the mass of the people were divinely inspired to make clear the heavenly displeasure in an earthly manner. "Heavenly intelligence is shown in that of the people, and heavenly wrath in the anger of the people. Heaven sees as the people sees, hears as the people hear" ("Shu King," v. 1), and that wrath was, as the anger of all gods evolved from man's fancy, visited upon its object by death, desolation, and famine. Truly could Laotsze say, "the net of heaven gathers all, its meshes are wide, yet nobody escapes it;" and further, "Heaven is impartial, [if it were otherwise,] it would bestow rewards [now] upon the worthy," and his words will be found daily in modern mouths. In opposition to the positivism and the doctrine of inaction, Mutze taught a conception of a supreme being equally impartial, but more in harmony with the desire implied in Laotsze's complaint, that rewards should be forthcoming as well as punishments. Mutze's doctrine is that of a heavenly love, whose proof is found even in the punishment of offenders, with a will that is like a compass or a carpenter's rule, obedience to which is the law of Justice.

Criticism may, perhaps, be offered regarding the form in which these books are presented. Dr. Wieger's scholarly and indefatigable labours, regularly published under the imprimatur of the Zi-ka-wei College, suffer from the use of a poor paper and occasionally poor printing, not to mention hasty stitching. Dr. Suzuki's little book rejoices in a cloth cover and good paper, more than justified by its price, but the rejection of the notes at the end of the book—wretched artifice to reduce cost of printing at the expense of the reader's patience—is a bad blemish. One amusing misprint has found its way on page 148, making "ablation" of what should be "ablation," and on page 174 a Chinese character is missing. The book is, none the less, a remarkable exposition, in a small compass, of those systems which have so strongly influenced, not only Chinese thought, but Japanese civilization as well, for the Confucian school in Japan held a very important place in the Tokugawa period.

Turning now from the native philosophy to that imported from India, we welcome Dr. Wieger's edition of the Chinese texts bearing upon the life of the Buddha, the "Cheu Kia Ju Lai Ying Hwa Lü," in 208 chapters, written by Pao Ch'eng, a monk of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. The Lives of the Buddha, more or less incomplete, and gathered from various sources, are fairly numerous. Some are recitatives, to be chanted by monks; others partake of a theatrical treatment; a few are historical; all are derived from Indian sources, the verbal or written originals being translated into Chinese, with more or less accuracy, personal names becoming almost meaningless strings of characters arranged in a phonetic manner, though the translators were less zealous than those of Tibet, who, according to Rockhill, actually translated the names into their own vernacular.

The original of Pao Ch'eng's version may have been Indian, but it seems more probable that the worthy monk made use of all that had been published before him, and weighing every objection, picking up every detail open to discussion, prepared a revised version in which the labours of his predecessors are carefully edited. His work is accordingly more clever from a Buddhist standpoint than the Burmese narrative translated by Bishop Bigandet. Comparison with Rockhill's *Life*, translated from Tibetan sources, shows considerable variations in the details as well as in the general plan. The division into separate chapters makes the Chinese book more convenient for reference, and will prove useful when Dr. Wiegner publishes the other volumes of this series. With commendable forethought, unfortunately betrayed by somewhat poor technical execution, 144 illustrations have been provided, reproduced from a book published in 1808. Here we may comment upon the dignity of the compositions, evincing even at that late period some of the devout feeling so intense in the pictures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and the mind wanders to another *Life of Buddha*, the "Shaka Ichi dai Ki" of Yamada Issai, illustrated by the Japanese artist Hokusai, where the compositions are as fantastic as the costumes, and dignity sacrificed to the mere *tours de force* of a skilled draughtsman. This latest contribution to the history of the Buddha, written in easy French, with the Chinese text on the opposite pages, deserves reading, not merely by students of Chinese, but by all those who take the slightest interest in Buddhism; and to those merely concerned with its pictorial representation the illustrations are of distinct value. We may mention, however, that the last scene (the death of Çakya) does not follow the well-known canonic composition of Wu Tao Tze, that the architecture and costumes are those of the Chia Ching period right through, and that the foliage of the Sala appears in some plates to have interchanged with that of the five-leaved pine-tree.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT BALKAN WAR CORRESPONDENTS

(*Continued*)

THE London Conference failed, the Bulgarian delegate said the war would be continued until the Turks acknowledged defeat, to emphasize which peace would only be made in Constantinople. Afterwards King Ferdinand appealed, without success, to the Great Powers against the occupation of Adrianople by the Turks. "I cannot believe that the Great Powers," he said, "who have attached their names to the Treaty of London can remain impassive under the insult placed upon them by Turkey"; but the Powers helped him not, and were much less appreciative than was the editor of the *Pall Mall*, who at the beginning of the war wrote that the country was indebted to the London newspapers which published Wagner's despatches, the most brilliant piece of journalism ever performed in any war.

The renewal of the war started under new management in Turkey, and incidentally it may be here mentioned that the unfortunate accident that befell Nazim Pasha was as foully reported, as was the news that he was foully murdered. The Bulgarian objective in the new campaign was to force the lines of Bulair, capture the peninsula of Gallipoli, thus opening up the Dardanelles for the passage of the Greek fleet, which, operating off Buyuk Tchekmedche, could shell the southern end of the Tchataldja lines, under

cover of which the Turkish flank could be turned, and a way into Constantinople opened. If the Bulgarians were delayed at Kirk Kilisse, detained at Lule Burgas, defeated at Tchataldja, they were paralyzed in the fighting trying to force the lines of Bulair from the 4th to the 9th of February.

After the fall of Adrianople on March 26, the general belief in Constantinople (where they all completely failed to realize how the Bulgarians were being exhausted) was that with the forces and guns released from Adrianople, the Bulgarians would make another attempt to force the lines of Tchataldja. The Turkish forces which had advanced in February and driven the Bulgarians out of their positions, were withdrawn to the lines again; but a division was left at Kalikratia on the Bulgarian side of Lake Buyuk Tchekmedche, near its entrance to the sea. The bait was tempting, and again, in Constantinople, fancy fears ran riot. The usually ill-informed Embassies again expected, even as late as the Sunday forenoon, March 30, to see the Bulgarians in Constantinople. On Friday, March 28, the Bulgarians opened the attack, and under cover of the night were successful in establishing their position. On Saturday morning, as the mist cleared, the Bulgarians found themselves caught in a trap, and at the same time the division at Kalikratia, under the command of General Khourchid, with Enver Bey as his Chief of Staff, delivered the counter-stroke. It was no disgrace to the Bulgarians, who stood, not on the order of going, but threw away their rifles and kits to facilitate their flight, for hell itself would not have stayed the onslaught of the Turks. Malignancy pursued the Turks, even in this, the last fight; for on the same day, Saturday, March 29, a London morning newspaper published the report of its Constantinople local correspondent: "News of disaster has been received from Tchataldja, although the Press is endeavouring to cover up the extent of the Turkish losses, it is reported that 10,000 Turks were surrounded at the southern end of the line and captured. The Grand Vizier has visited the Embassies

and begged for the favourable intervention of the Powers." A fortnight later, on April 14, the Bulgarians sent in a flag of truce, and asked for an armistice.

By the end of the war the Turks possessed a magnificent fighting army capable of sweeping all before them in the Balkan States, and the peace concluded with Bulgaria shows the magnanimity of their statesmen.

The nine months of war in the Balkans has, indeed, been the bloodiest in history. More or less official figures put the killed and wounded of the regulars at nearly half a million. Add to this the losses due to the irregulars, the massacres, deaths from sickness, and those left to die a lingering death, the total losses it may be safely guessed will not be so very far short of a million. Roumania has taught the Balkan States the best lesson, and the precedent will be the greatest factor for the peace of the future. Don't fight until the others have exhausted themselves.

#### THE FUTURE.

Prophets are at a discount; it is much more profitable to lay 100 to 1 against them than to waste time listening to their arguments. The majority view affairs from their own narrowed outlook, as did King James I., when told in reply to his question that the king of a Red Indian tribe in America had not been coronated, he sent out an expedition with all the regalia for the purpose. Unable to understand or appreciate such a kindness, the Red Indian chief thought it advisable to seek safety in the backwoods.

"The inexperienced statesmen of Constantinople," it was proclaimed, had made a blunder in reoccupying Adrianople; it was the duty of the Powers to compel the Turks to withdraw. Russia, it was further added, was taking steps to do so. "If Turkey should unhappily disregard the advice given her not to advance her frontier beyond the Enos-Midia line, it will not be possible to support the Ottoman Government in improving the administration and establishing Turkish finances on a sound

basis." With parrot-like reiteration it was said that Turkey "must be compelled to listen to reason; she is utterly exhausted, her finances are in the most terrible disorder, and unless she obtains money it is doubtful indeed whether she can retain her Asiatic possessions. Any loan to Turkey will go but a little way unless the Turks can be prevailed upon to place themselves under the tutelage of the Great Powers, and accept help, not only military but administrative, in reorganizing her whole government system," etc.

The comments of the cynic on this suggestion might be that the Murzsteg programme of 1903 entrusted to Austria and Russia to put down lawlessness in Macedonia, had it not been upset by the revolution of 1908, would have proved completely successful, as the rival Christian inhabitants there were, under such ægis, rapidly exterminating themselves.

The most appropriate rôle for Italy would be that of adviser to the Minister of Justice, for which she duly qualified by the mendacious reasons she advanced to justify her seizure of Tripoli. France's rôle without question is that of finance, for has she not the monopoly of lending money to Turkey, which must be spent under her supervision and for her sole benefit, and all that remains for the Turk is to pay sinking fund and interest. When the King of Greece thanked Germany through the Kaiser for the Greek victories, *Punch* depicted the latter as suddenly seized with the horrible thought that he must be referring to the German training of the Turkish army; and according to the cynic, it only remains for the captain of the Greek battleship *Averoff* to thank the British Admiralty for the loan of the specially selected officers who since the revolution in 1908 have been entrusted with the reorganization of the Turkish navy. Truly, indeed, "God only helps those who help themselves, and self-help is not a gift from one to another."

Enver Bey is an obsession to many. Every other week during the war he was either assassinated, murdered, or

suffered sudden death in some one form or another, but surely the height of ignorance of Turkish affairs was reached when the Press referred to "Enver Bey's Adrianople Army." Even a journal of great ability, and commanding the highest respect in the City of London, wrote that "Enver Bey had put an embargo upon half a million sterling advanced by the Tobacco Regie for paying official salaries, and had used the money instead for military purposes. The Great Powers could, if they pleased, prevent the Tobacco Regie and the Public Debt Commission from advancing money, and can insist that no loans shall be made to the Porte without their consent"; as great a travesty as if the Turkish public were told that Lloyd George had taken a million sterling out of the Bank of England to lay out his own private golf links in the South of France.

Until quite recently, Turkey has been despotically ruled, and in the past the Turks (as conquerors) sat down and exacted tribute from the subject races. Turkey can no more be charged in this respect now, than the present administration in India can be charged with the practices of Clive, and its first administrators under the old East India Company, or the present Government charged with carrying on the bloody rule of Cromwell in Ireland. Unfortunately the prevailing belief in England about the Turks is more erroneous than if the Turks were to believe that the toll of the Seigneur was still exacted in this country by the Lord of the Manor, although it was abolished by George III. It takes a generation, it is said, to acquire new ideas, but evidently many to eradicate the old. Far from Turkey putting itself under the tutelage of the Powers, its greatest curse to-day is the Powers. Give us our commercial freedom has been the despairing cry of the thinking Turk. As well ask the tiger to give up its prey. The Powers will give up nothing. Turkey's greatest hope now is, that the Powers, having got over the Balkan crisis without a war amongst themselves, but with damaged

reputations, will leave the Balkan States to stew in their own juice, and, if the Turks seize their freedom as they seized Adrianople, and with the same firm determination to hold it, the public sense of fairness will stultify the Powers as it stultified them when the almost unanimous chant of the inspired Press was, that the Turks must be expelled from Adrianople. Every country in Europe ordains its own Custom tariff; that of Turkey is regulated by the Powers to serve their own selfish ends. Where is the justice, when one of the ablest authorities, a British adviser engaged by the Turkish Administration, affirms that with her commercial freedom, Turkey could raise a greater revenue, which would be much less burdensome to the people and more beneficial to trade. The *fait accompli* is Turkey's best argument and from which, only fools would refrain.

Mr. Shuster in Persia should be an object lesson to Turkey. He was specially recommended by the American Government as duly qualified to reorganize the Persian finances; he was driven from the country in a few short months, because the Russian Government had made up its mind that the Persian finances should not be reformed, and the only charge that could be brought against him was that he was lacking in tact. The Turkish Administration "cannot continue to exist in anarchy without some kind of tolerable government. It is useless to set it upon its legs again—order must first be restored—there must be European Administrative officials who will stand no nonsense"—and this from a writer of more than usual ability. Here he plays the rôle of the dear old lady whose concern for the goldfish led her to put hot water into their bowl one winter's day, and was grievously surprised when they died. "Saints" said the Dean of Durham at the Church Congress, "had a bad record as Statesmen, and Christian principles had sometimes been applied most effectively by men who were not themselves Christians."

In the United States of America, for example, there is more political and financial corruption in a day than in



Turkey in a generation. So far, Turkey has been plundered right and left, under the cant of the introduction of Reforms. The "Saints" have so far proved ghastly failures, and Turkey's salvation lies in preaching from the text of "To Hell with Reforms," and the adoption of the motto "The Prosperity of the People," for a prosperous people can live without harm under the most accursed government in existence, for without it, a heaven-devised administration is a ghastly failure. Do not the Conservatives call the present Liberal Government the most damnable that the country has ever been cursed with, and the Liberals when in Opposition are no less complimentary to the Conservatives, in spite of which the country goes on prospering by leaps and bounds.

Turkey is not utterly exhausted as represented, for some generations her military forces have never been so powerful as when she made peace with Bulgaria. Neither are her finances in terrible disorder. For two years she has been at war, first with Italy, and then with the Balkan States. Her credit was reduced to the lowest, and money was more than a pressing need. She was able to borrow some small sums, but only on first-class security. The total account, plus the necessary capital to make good the wear and tear to the country by the war, is covered by the £28,000,000 loan that has been arranged for in Paris. If, as stated, she effects an annual saving of some £2,000,000 by being relieved of the European provinces, even under the old conditions her future is brighter than in the past.

So recently relieved from despotic Government, the Turks may require the services of foreign advisers, but the sooner she can manage her own affairs the sooner and greater will be the prestige she will command in the world. The Turks have much to learn it is true—one of the first lessons is, that the political and commercial must be separated. It is the Embassy that makes itself the most objectionable which secures the most orders from needles to battleships, but to the credit of the British Embassy, and

to the disgust of the many British "Dom Pedros," it does not take a hand in this ignoble game; should, however, a Britisher be favoured, the well-meaning Turk is of opinion that he is doing the British nation a good turn. Economics is not a strong point in Great Britain as it is, but two penny-worth would quickly undeceive the Turk on this point.

Turkey is a poor nation, a very poor nation, and trade with a poor nation is not the most profitable. Asia Minor is one of the richest countries in the world, it would be difficult to exaggerate its natural wealth. There are millions of acres only waiting to be turned into perfect gardens of beauty, and made the most prosperous portions of the earth. No country can be developed without capital, and capital only flows towards those countries which give facilities. These in the past the Turks have tried to sell. The Turks of the New Regime learnt when in exile during the reign of Abdul Hamid how the South American Republics attained their great prosperity, though the lawlessness prevailing in these Republics to that in Turkey is as a bear garden to a Sunday school, and in the prosperity of her people lies the future of Turkey, which, since she has relieved herself of the burden of the Balkan Christians, is now possible.

# SUPPLEMENT

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

### THE FAR EAST

1. JAPANESE FLOWER ARRANGEMENT ADAPTED TO WESTERN NEEDS. ,  
Miss Mary Averill. 218 pp. Eighty-eight illustrations. (London :  
*John Lane.*) Price 6s. net.

The art of floral decoration is one in which the sense of form may play a part just as great as the sense of colour. European florists have, as a rule, evinced a leaning for masses of colour, the effect of which is best realized, not in a *bouquet*, but, as Lord Redesdale pointed out in a spirited essay, in great banks of flowers such as grow on the Himalayan slopes, or in the Horikiri iris gardens and in the Kameido wistaria gardens, or in the cherry blossoms and autumnal vistas of maple forests in Japan; but the cut branches and sprays of leaves and flowers lend themselves to the expression of symbolism or to effects striking in their simplicity when set up in accordance with the laws of floral arrangement, called in Japanese *ikebana*. Buddhism, the *font et origo* of Japanese art, is responsible for that treatment of floral decoration; lotus blossoms, buds, and leaves, form an integral part of altar decoration. Priests developed the arrangement of lotus and other flowers into a fine art, and the tea ceremony experts, nearly all Zen believers, introduced the *ikebana* in the ritual of their refined meetings. The origin of this art, its evolution from the fifteenth century upwards through various schools, is well sketched by the author in the first and last chapters of her book. Although the chronology before the Higashiyama period seems mixed, Soami and Ono no Imoko were separated by centuries; they were not master and pupil, as p. 214 seems to convey. But to the European reader the historical pages and the sketchy references to symbolism in arrangement are of less importance than the chapters on the technique of the art. Those are written in a thoroughly practical and serviceable manner; vases, supports, modes of bending the twigs, are sufficiently well described for general use, and the reader desirous for more detailed information is frankly referred to the works of Josiah Conder. Incidentally, the use of wax on the edges of a water-vessel to raise the surface of the liquid above the rim shows a knowledge of surface tension amongst the Japanese *ikebana* experts.

Unfortunately, the book contains a few blemishes which the author, after such a long stay in Japan, could easily have avoided : p. 64 shows a *tsubaki* (camellia) described as a magnolia ; the Japanese text on p. 119 is reversed ; p. 162 represents pine, *maple*, and chrysanthemum, according to the Japanese text : *matsu ni momiji kiku*, not bamboo ; the poem on p. 179 is misquoted ; further, the information about flower preservatives is barren for those who cannot get the *sansho*, *mogusa*, and *saké*, from Japan. Those are small matters, however, and could easily be avoided in a second edition of this very suggestive work.—HENRI L. JOLY.

2. THE ELEMENTS OF SŌSHO. By Captain F. S. G. Piggott, R.E. (London : *Kelly and Walsh, Crosby Lockwood and Sons.*) Price 12s. 6d. net.

Chinese characters in their native land, as well as in Japan, have suffered, like all other modes of writing, from a cursive deterioration which makes confusion worse confounded. The forms of rapid writing have crystallized into the *gyōsho*, fairly akin to the square calligraphy and the *sōsho*, or "grass writing," which, whatever beauty may be seen or fancied in its sinuosities by experts, presents difficulties almost insuperable to the foreign student. There are *sōsho* forms of classical and recognized shape for each character, the learning of which comes slowly and laboriously to the native child, constantly brought in contact with the hasty scribbling of all and sundry ; but human nature prompts the average Chinese or Japanese to extemporize far too often short-cuts and shapes peculiar to himself, the reading of which becomes then a source of annoyance or profanity. To a French naval officer belongs the honour of having classified the Chinese forms. Hoffmann and some others made an attempt at an elucidation of the Japanese cursive ; but the first book in English upon this subject comes from the pen of a military man, Captain Piggott, R.E., who studied it during his sojourn in Japan, under the guidance of expert calligraphers. Whereas the Japanese *sōsho* dictionaries classify the characters under radicals, Captain Piggott has sought to combine the radicals into classes according to the similarity of their cursive forms ; he has further segregated certain independent radicals, and brought together characters having strong analogies, with as many nuances in his classification as an expert politician might find amongst French Parliamentarians. The result is, so to speak, a "grammar of *sōsho*," somewhat more complicated than one might wish, having regard to the difficulties already inherent in Japanese writing. The characters have been written by Mr. S. Nakajima, formerly writing master to H.I.M. the Emperor of Japan ; thus, *classical sōsho* is set before the student, who may hope, after mastering this book, with considerable patience and practice, to be able to read with ease many of the puzzles besetting him daily in the form of letters, postcards, or the wood-printed script of pre-Meiji days.

The author explains that an index to the 1,800 odd characters given in his book has been purposely omitted, and that all characters of common occurrence can be found by simple analysis and reference, for the same reason. The book being intended for advanced students, all translations

into English have been barred ; perhaps it would have been better to make the work of use even to the less advanced students by including the English equivalents ; it would at any rate have saved the inversion of 304 and 305 on p. 70. On the whole the book is well produced at a reasonable price, and deserves earnest study.—H. L. JOLY.

3. "WORLD-HEALERS," OR THE LOTUS GOSPEL AND ITS BODDISATTVAS. Compared with Early Christianity by E. A. Gordon. With a Letter by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D. Map, illustrations, and index. Two vols. (*Eugène L. Morice*, 9, Cecil Court, London, W.C.) Price £1 12s. 6d.

This work is the result of untiring investigation, and contains much food for mental absorption. Mrs. E. A. Gordon has given great attention to her subject. She has translated from many sources, and compared tenets and parallels of thought between the Eastern and Western religions. She has visited obscure temples of the Orient, consulted documents, argued with learned bonzes, and by these means she has discovered identical signs and symbols in use among both Buddhists and Christians. By symbol and picture, tradition and sacrament, rites and ceremonies, sacred dance and holy observance, she has established her conviction that not only has Christianity affected Buddhism, but Buddhism Christianity, particularly during the first seven centuries of our era. To quote the words from the author's own Preface is even to go a step further, for she states: *That modern Christianity would be deepened and spiritualized beyond conception by coming in contact with the teachings of the venerable Mahâyâna, and their expression in the wondrous art treasures of the East, there is very little doubt.*" Mrs. Gordon's book, however, is not for the missionary ; it is for the learned prelates of our Church to study and discourse on. The priests of lonely temples dedicated to the faith of Mahâyâna, or Northern Buddhism, who pass much of their time in contemplation, are eager to listen, and to learn from Western divines a fuller, deeper revelation of the Truth. They have long been waiting for Enlightenment, for profound and reliable knowledge concerning Christianity. We have not space to enter fully into the merits of this book and its ultimate influence ; its all, or even part of what it contains, is convincing enough to become accepted. It is a great work, and will prove a valuable addition to the many books on Buddhism that have been compiled of late in the English language. Mrs. Gordon's previous work, published in Japan, entitled "Messiah, the Ancestral Hope of the Ages," in a measure prepared us for this still more erudite and exhaustive work on so vital a subject as the commingling of the two greatest religions of the world. There runs through all her writing a desire to establish a universal love among mankind, that is as refreshing as a river through a thirsty land.

The illustrations are excellent, full of symbolic significance. The index has been carefully prepared ; but the frequent reference to footnotes, and the use of various types of printing on the same page, are troublesome to the reader, and too frequently distract the mind from concentration on the theme.—S.

## INDIA

4. THE BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES. *Wisdom of the East Series.* (*John Murray.*) Price 2s. net.

The object of the editors of the series in which this little book is included is so entirely laudable that one is loath to criticize the very candid account of this extraordinary "religion," if it can be properly called a religion. The author says it is a religion, because it teaches that "salvation, the freedom from the circle of birth and death, results from knowledge; and the saving knowledge which is the essence of positive Buddhist teaching consists in the four truths: the fact of suffering, the cause of suffering, the destruction of suffering, and the Noble Eightfold Path leading thereto." The whole object of life, therefore, seems to be to get rid of any future life as soon as possible. No wonder that such a theory strikes many people as a dreary outlook. As a mere system of morality, there is no doubt much to be said for it; but there is very little trace of pure altruism, or anything like the sacrifice of self for the sake of others, which is the distinguishing feature of Christianity. Certainly, the Buddhist Ten Commandments, as given on pp. 52, 53, compare very unfavourably even with those of the old Jewish Dispensation, to say nothing of the spiritualized edition of the same as promulgated by Christ. In place of the Commandments, which embody the Jewish idea of our duty to God (of which, of course, there is no trace in Buddhism), we have four or five which can only be characterized as almost ludicrous; for what can be more absurd than to put "abstinence from a high or large bed" in the same category with murder?

On the whole, it must be confessed that a perusal of the Buddhist Scriptures as contained in this little volume does not tend to increase one's respect for the religion of Buddha or for the language attributed to its founder.—J. B. P.

5. THE REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF TRAVANCORE FOR 1912-13.

One of the most picturesque, and certainly one of the most prosperous, countries in India is Travancore, with its 3½ millions spread over an area of 7,000 odd square miles, which within its present boundaries was consolidated and brought under one Sovereign during the reign of Marthanda Varma (1729-1758). It is therefore practically contemporaneous with the Presidency of Madras, and was one of the staunchest allies of the British during the troublous times of the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the South of India lived in constant terror of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan. It was not, indeed, till the death of Tippu, in 1799, that Travancore (like Madras in general) entered on an uninterrupted career of peace and prosperity. Since 1805 it has paid eight lakhs of rupees a year as "tribute," or insurance against foreign aggression—a sum which amounts now to about 5 per cent. of its income, though six years ago it represented 8 per cent.

For many years the government of Travancore has been conducted almost exactly on British lines, and has steadily improved in efficiency

ever since Sir T. Madhava Rao first won his spurs there as its great Diwan some fifty years ago; and it may be doubted if there was ever a happier country than Travancore under its present most enlightened and distinguished ruler with an immense number of names. It is a remarkable fact that, though the country is predominantly Hindu and intensely orthodox, one-fourth of the population consists of Christians—a larger proportion than in any other part of India.

It is also worthy of note that the increase in the Excise revenue has been as remarkable as in British India—from twenty-one lakhs in 1806-07 to thirty lakhs in the year under report—and the reasons given for the increase are also much the same: the suppression of illicit drinking and the growth of population. This purely native administration has not succeeded in putting a stop to the practice of drinking.—J. B. P.

### THE NEAR EAST

#### 6. LIFE OF KING GEORGE OF GREECE. By Captain Walter Christmas. (*Eveleigh Nash.*)

The recent entry of the new King of Albania into his capital, and the reflections which it inspired, naturally carry the mind of the student of history back to the time when the kingdom of Greece was in its infancy, and the young Prince William George of Denmark was made King amid the pessimistic comments of Europe. Very few people to-day can remember clearly the circumstances of his accession, and in consequence the magnitude of the work he accomplished for Greece is often hardly rated at its true value. The publication of his life-story comes, therefore, at a very opportune moment, and the biographer is worthy of his task. Captain Walter Christmas, like most service men, has got the true spirit of the good biographer. He has a real sense of the dramatic, to which he does not hesitate to give free play, while, on the other hand, the book is not overloaded with rhetorical phrases, which are often the blot on work of this kind. The task of the Danish sailor in describing the life of the greatest Dane of his century has evidently been a labour of love, and the author's personal affection for King George is one of the keynotes of the book.

After a short account of the state of Greece between 1830 and 1862, and a description of the various failures of King Otho and his advisers, the author passes on to an account of the early years of King George, and his election to the throne of Greece at the early age of seventeen. After describing the promulgation of the Constitution, the royal marriage, and the various events of the early part of the reign, he passes on to the section of the reign in which the modern problems began to come to the fore—the questions of Thessaly and Crete. The Thessalian question reached its solution after some bickering in 1881, when the frontiers of Greece received a considerable extension. The Cretan problem went on for years and years, and as we read the pages of this book we cannot help feeling how useless it was to try and keep the Cretans under the dominion

of Turkey, and how short-sighted was the action of the Powers all along. After two chapters on the private life of the Royal Family, and of King George as a traveller—brimful of good anecdotes about the King's position and popularity at Copenhagen and Aix-les-Bains—we have a long and well-written account of the Græco-Turkish War, and an even more interesting description of the political crisis of 1909—an event which few people in this country realized or understood. Lastly we have an account of the war of 1912, and a vivid and pathetic account of the tragic assassination of the King at Salonica. The writer has, in general, kept within the limits of good taste, though he would have been well advised not to stir up the muddy waters of Bulgaro-Greek controversy by an unrestrained laudation of King Constantine's letters to the Press. Captain Ivanoff's article in the February number of this *Review* shows that there is another side to the question, and that the Razlog letters have not yet received an answer. The translator has done his work well, and every reader owes a respectful debt of gratitude to Queen Alexandra for the photographs she has supplied. The book is certainly one of the really notable volumes of the year.—P. S. CANNON.

7. ALBANIA, THE FOUNDLING STATE OF EUROPE. By Wadham Peacock. (*Chapman and Hall*.) Price 7s. 6d.

This is a very informative book by one who has lived in the country and knows the ways and customs of its inhabitants. The author was formerly private secretary to H.B.M. Chargé d'Affaires in Montenegro and Consul General in Northern Albania. He combines in one volume a descriptive account of the country and an authoritative statement of the legitimate claims for independence of a brave, and often misrepresented, little nation. An interesting chapter is devoted to Scodra, the Albanian city which Montenegro covets, and which shows conclusively that the city is not Slav, and that therefore King Nicholas' claims are unjustified. In past centuries, to use the words of Mr. Wadham Peacock, Montenegro was ruled from Scodra, and not Scodra from Montenegro. A summary of the story of Albania at the end of the book explains how the Albanian stood his ground through the centuries, and that invasions never dislodged him from his rocks. The main thing to remember in Albanian history is, that the Slav has always been to the Shkypetar what the Turk is to the Slav—a racial foe. The Gladstonian sentiment, that the Turk became the general oppressor of the Balkan Peninsula by defeating, at the Battle of Kossovo, in 1389, its rightful Slav owners, is still widely current. As Mr. Wadham Peacock humorously puts it, the Albanian, proud and silent on his crags, without even a disastrous battle to serve as a peg for advertisement, has through the centuries asked nothing of Europe, and has been given it in ample measure. In "cutting out the new kingdom" the Great Powers have cynically ignored large populations of Albanians, and handed them over to their hereditary foes, because Russian and Austrian interests clash in the Balkans, both being equally desirous of a sea outlet. Like all those acquainted with the true state of things, the author does not even



mention an Epirote question, but has all his sympathies on the side of the thousands of patriotic Albanians who are described as Greeks because they belong to the Orthodox Church.

A very good study is made of the "blood feud," which finds its exact replica in the Corsican vendetta: It is, of course, deplorable, and a great source of weakness to the country. In all fairness, however, it must be pointed out that blood feud is not brutality let loose, but has its strict code of honour, and that women are strictly excluded from it. An Albanian takes no revenge on woman or child.

While fully aware of the many-sided difficulties of Albania, Mr. Wadham Peacock is confident of the fact that the Shkypetars are a dogged race who have survived many tyrants. It is a book which all impartial students of the Near East will read with interest. It deals at all times with facts, and never with polemics, leaving altogether aside any racial or religious questions in the narrow sense of the word.

The book is admirably illustrated.—E. A.

8. *THE HISTORY AND ECONOMICS OF INDIAN FAMINES.* By A. Loveday, B.A., late Scholar of Peterhouse, Cambridge; being the Le Bas Prize Essay for 1913. (*G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1913.*)

Considering that the author of this excellent little work has no personal knowledge of the country he writes about, this book is a most creditable performance, and gives evidence of much careful study of books, not all of which (as enumerated in the bibliography) are equally trustworthy. He very soon discovered a fact still hidden from Mrs. Besant, that "the frequency and cause of famines in India should be no cause for surprise," and it would be well if she (and others) would consider carefully other passages, in which he says that "history gives no example of a drought extending over the whole of India"; so that "every improvement in the means of communication must decrease the fatality of local deficiency," and "one fact alone remains proved, that, whatever the cost, whatever the ultimate effect, the immediate efficiency of railways in checking mortality has been unparalleled."

With reference to the poverty of India our author says, "Considerable division of opinion has existed as to the extent (depth?) of the poverty of the masses of the population of India," and, (it may be added,) none of the estimates of the income of the people are of much value, the late Mr. Digby's being, perhaps, the most hopeless of all. As Sir Lepel Griffin always used to say, "Poverty is a comparative term," and one may be better off and more comfortable on a penny a day in one country than with a shilling a day in another. Personally I would rather live on a penny a day in a Bombay village where I should have no house-rent to pay, (not, of course, in Bombay itself), than on a shilling a day in London; though I should not care to try either experiment.

It is impossible within the limits of a short review to go into every question raised by this industrious young gentleman, and it may be more useful to comment on some of his statements which are not, perhaps, very well

founded. He says, for instance, that "Land tenure has become insecure," some "industries have been struck by English competition." Both statements are too general, and it does not appear how he proves that land tenure in general has become insecure; whilst the reference in the note on p. 6 to p. 113 for a fuller discussion of the destruction of Indian industries by English competition affords no information on the point, so far as I can see. It is true, as he says on p. 114, that weaving and other home industries have been seriously injured (certainly not "eliminated"), just as those of England were by the great economic revolution of the eighteenth century, but not so much by English competition as by the steam-engine.

But when all is said and done, this book is a remarkable achievement for a young man writing of a country he does not know, and will be of the greatest use to any student of Indian economics for years to come. Occasionally he seems to me to be too pessimistic, as when he says that the sugar trade of India seems "sealed" (p. 127). I, at any rate, cannot believe that India will not succeed in so improving the cultivation and manufacture of sugar as to hold her own in the markets of the world. But it must not be bolstered up by protective tariffs.

It is somewhat surprising that Mr. Loveday's attention has not been drawn to a small volume of leaflets entitled "Truths about India," published by the East India Association. As far as they go, the facts given in that volume are, as Mr. Marsden said in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, "absolutely trustworthy," and have certainly never been contradicted.

Lastly, it would do Mrs. Besant much good to consider carefully the list of famines in the index. The history of the old famines is most interesting and instructive, and one can only hope that in the interests of India itself the book may be widely read in India.—J. P.

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9. INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF EDUCATION. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. (*Longmans.*) Price 3s. 6d. net.

We can heartily recommend this lucid and thought-provoking little book to the careful attention of all who are interested in the subject of education. Perhaps even more especially would we place it in the hands of those who are formulating schemes of education for India and Egypt. "Education," says Professor Sarkar, "is nothing but the comprehensive means of helping forward the natural life process" by which the powers and faculties with which man is innately endowed "grow and develop naturally under the influences of the surrounding forces of the world . . . he is constantly drawing his sustenance and materials for the building up of his physique and manhood from the physical and social world without." Therefore a system of education is not to be regarded as good or bad *per se*, but must be considered solely in relation to the social, political, and religious environment for which it is intended. Freedom, Race-tradition and Modernity must be the fundamentals of any successful system of national education.

The two other great principles which Professor Sarkar lays down are—*First*, the interaction of all subjects of human knowledge, and therefore the rational necessity for their unification in teaching, as opposed to their arbitrary specialization into separate studies. The best of modern teachers, however, do realize that such subjects as, for example, geography, geology, history, civics and political science, are so clearly interwoven in their causes and effects that the understanding of one must include the knowledge of all. *Secondly*, the necessity for the inductive method of teaching in all departments of education, and the personal handling of the subject by the student from his own observation and experience. "The pupil must not be a mere reader: he must be a discoverer and creator too."—H. M. H.

10. THIRTY YEARS IN MUKDEN, 1883-1913. By Dugald Christie, C.M.G., F.R.G.S., F.R.C.P. Edin. (London: Constable and Co., 1914.) Price 8s. 6d. net.

Dr. Christie has given us a book which all may read with ease and pleasure, whether missionary, trader, soldier, newspaper correspondent, or what not. There is nothing difficult or technical about it, and moreover, such specific *data* as are seriously given are historically right, so that political writers who may hereafter wish to air their statesmanlike views on Manchuria will find it a capital book to "crib" from. Dr. Christie wisely confines his own personal literary ambition to a straightforward exposition of what he has actually seen, and as he has practically seen or felt, in this way or that, almost everything that has occurred at or around Mukden since he "discovered" and began morally to develop that mysterious capital over thirty years ago, he is a most excellent expounder of the complicated processes that have in this short space of time made of Mukden a modern *Weltstadt*. Although some of the early Manchu imperial tombs are there, or at *Hing-king* in the vicinity, neither of these quasi-metropolitan places, nor, indeed, the very imperial name "Manchu," was known to the world in general, or (it might almost be said) to the Chinese and Manchus themselves, until the toxophilite conqueror Nurhachu, of the Aisin Ghioro clan, welded the various Tungusic tribes into one, mastered Corea and the Mongols, fought with the border armies of the decrepit Ming dynasty of China, asserted "imperial" equality, and left it to his son and grandson, on the suicide of the last Chinese Emperor, to step into and permanently occupy the vacant throne of the Son of Heaven. Mukden is a Manchu name for what for nearly 2,000 years had been oftener a Corean city; and what we now call "South Manchuria" has oftener belonged to Corean races, or Mongoloid races, than to the Chinese, *a fortiori* to the Manchus, whose true habitat has from ancient times been the Ussuri, Sungari, and Amur region; one of the earliest moves 330 years ago was south from Ninguta to Hetuala (about 1583), then itself a military outpost of the Chinese; Mukden was captured in 1621, and in 1626 the Manchu capital was transferred from Hing-king (near Hetuala) to Mukden. Dr. Christie's book gives us the whole recent history of this modern

capital, which is really, *mutatis mutandis*, to Ninguta what St. Petersburg is to Moscow—*i.e.*, a political centre, selected so as to command Corea, Mongolia, and China.—E. H. PARKER.

11. THE SAMHITA. By Sri Ananda Acharya. (*Francis Griffiths and Co.*) 2s. 6d. net.

Here we have a handy little textbook serving as an introduction to the philosophy of the Vedanta, ably translated from the original by Sri Ananda Acharya in such wise as to make a strong appeal to Western lovers of Oriental theology.

It is divided into the translator's introduction, which explains more clearly to seekers of Brahma knowledge various points already plain to advanced Brahma-knowers, and follows this up with the Samhita itself, and its interesting dialogue between Rishi Astavakra and Raja jñāka.

Space does not permit a more detailed account of its many headings, among which are: "The Joy of Perception of Truth," "Is the Merging of the Infinite possible?" "Bondage and Liberation," "Special Instruction," "Repose in the Glory of Atma," and "Liberation in Life," but in the main these latter expositions will be more appreciated by the student who has already made some progress along the Brahmin higher road than by the beginner treading the lower paths, although the author has done his best to simplify many of the more complicated Vedantic passages for European use.

F. G. K. F.

## ORIENTA ALMANAKO

12. TALES FROM THE ARABIC, ARMENIAN, TCHETCHEN, HEBREW, HINDOO, CHINESE, JAPANESE, KARTVELIAN, LEZGIN, SANSKRIT, TARTAR. Translated into Esperanto, with a preface by B. Kotzin, editor of "La Ondo de Esperanto" (The Wave of Esperanto).

Ancient Chinese literature is characterized by "rapid style"—that is to say, many events are described in a small compass. To effect this the sentences are very short, and full-stops always separate one or two words. The doctor's life-story is translated word for word (in Esperanto), and offers a specimen of "rapid style."

### "A DOCTOR'S LIFE-STORY"

"Mr. X during youth learned to write. Without success! Busied himself with art. Without success! Studied medicine; found he knew much. No patient for three years. Grew angry. Sickened. Treated himself and died."

"Alas Sir! you died; you yourself died. Had you not died, many neighbours would have died. Your method was neither medicine nor treatment. Your drugs like a wolf, like a tiger. The healthy, touched by your hand, fell ill. The strong who used your drugs, perished. Alas!" Translated into Esperanto by K. Gh. Shan.

## JUST PUBLISHED

13. A DICTIONARY OF ISLAM : being a Cyclopædia of the Doctrines, Rites, Ceremonies, Customs, etc., of the Muhammadan Religion. By T. P. Hughes. Royal 8vo. cloth, pp. viii + 750, with numerous illustrations. Published £2 2s. net ; now offered for £1 5s. Postage Inland 7d. ; Foreign 2s.

This is a facsimile far superior to the two anastatic reprints of 1895-96 of the original edition of Hughes' Dictionary, which in any form has been long out of print and not only expensive but very difficult to secure. The publishers anticipate therefore a welcome acceptance of this reprint, which, despite the fact that it *is* a reprint, has practically all the clarity of Roman and Arabic text and illustrations found in the original edition. There is no volume so comprehensive or authoritative dealing with the Religion and Customs of the Muhammadan peoples. Of this issue 500 copies only are being done, and it is anticipated that it will rapidly go out of print.

"The Dictionary will have its place among the standard works of reference in every library that professes to take an account of the religion which governs the lives of millions."—*Athenæum*.

## CATALOGUE IN PREPARATION

Bibliotheca Asiatica IV. Including the Library of the late H. F. B. Lynch, Esq., containing books on Arabia, Persia, Muhammadanism, Eastern Religions and Folklore, Art and Archæology, etc.

## THE DRAMA

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### "PYGMALION"

THE news that "Pygmalion" was to be staged at His Majesty's aroused conjecture as to whether Bernard Shaw had *already* become a classic, or Sir Herbert Tree had joined the realists. Events proved that they had met on neutral ground, although the distance bridged by Tree had evidently been greater than in the case of Shaw. Pygmalion (in this case Professor Henry Higgins) meets his Galatea whilst sheltering from the rain—*real* rain—in the portico of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Only a word from her is needed for him to identify the very gutter that claims her, for to him the dialects of West Ham and Whitechapel are as unlike as, to us, those of Liverpool and Aberdeen. Struck by the native crudity of her accent, he makes a wager that after six months of his training he will pass her off as a duchess at a Royal garden-party, and wins it; but in the meantime Galatea has become indispensable to him, and he to her, and the curtain falls leaving us satisfied that all is well with them.

Professor Henry Higgins could not well have had a better exponent than Sir Herbert Tree. The impression left was that here at last was the real Tree, whilst the many other rôles he has played on the boards of His Majesty's Theatre were but pieces of acting. His silent expression of mingled terror and enjoyment was irresistible when Galatea is presented to Society at his mother's, and heaps blunder on blunder, ending with the final expletive of which enough has been said and read. Mrs. Patrick Campbell's heroine, in the earlier scenes, was very much like other coster-girls that have been seen on the stage (but not off), and would not profit by comparison, say, with Miss Dorothy Minto's rendering of a similar character in "Fanny's First Play." Later, the gradual warming of Galatea into love for her benefactor, and her anguish at his cruel treatment of her as a mere specimen, was dramatically realized. Mention must also be made of Mr. Edmund Gurney as Alfred Doolittle, who made the very utmost of a part rich in Shaw's own kindly mockery of the hypocrisy of middle-class morality. He looked more like a dustman than did his daughter like a flower-girl.

### "AN IDEAL HUSBAND"

The revivals of Oscar Wilde's plays at the St. James's Theatre are always sure of a hearty reception from the present generation. This is in a way extraordinary, owing to the very limited appeal to only one class of society

that the famous playwright made. In a way it reflects a more Catholic taste of the present century in the matter of drama. All his plays contain brilliant dialogue, of a sort that should evoke hisses from the pit and gallery—for instance, when he says, in one of his plays, that the only use of the lower classes is to set a good example to Society; that is a kind of cynicism which does not find favour in the present age when social reform is the *pièce de résistance* of vote-catching legislation.

But "An Ideal Husband" is the most serious of Oscar Wilde's plays, the best constructed in its plot, the most persuasive in its moral. The subject is very similar to that of "The Attack," which appeared at the same theatre earlier in the year—viz., the shady patches in the early life of once struggling and now successful politicians. It is interesting to compare how Bernstein and Wilde respectively deal with the blackmailer; and both disarm him, or in the latter case her, by discovering the weak spots in the past of the blackmailer. Perhaps the most instructive conclusion is that, from the dramatist's point of view, English political life is, externally at any rate, much cleaner than the French; and if it was the object of Oscar Wilde to show our political life in as unfavourable a light as possible, he has nevertheless failed to bring it down to the level of the French in Bernstein's eyes. Miss Phyllis Neilson-Terry played very sympathetically as the virtuous wife of the Under Secretary—her idol had proved to have clay feet—Mr. Wontner, who is at his best as the politician; while Sir George Alexander, as the good counsellor, had a part which eminently suited him.

#### "AN INDIAN SUMMER"

This play starts dramatically with the discovery by a faithful and well-principled wife of the faithless, and unprincipled misconduct of her lawyer husband—a budding K.C.—with another, a married woman, after twelve years of married bliss. For the sake of the child she agreed to separate from him and let him go his way. She never forgives him, even after the third person is dead and buried—that is all.

The whole tragedy happens in the first ten minutes, and leaves us wondering and quite undisturbed by what follows, which is really scarcely worth listening to. The son's adventurous marriage to a chorus-girl is quite another story. The play drags, there is no plot, and the characters are mismanaged. It was a fine opportunity for a more experienced dramatist. But we thought it was well interpreted at the Prince of Wales Theatre, and Mr. Allen Ainsworth especially, as the brilliant and universally popular barrister, deserves unqualified praise.

## OUR INDIAN MAIL

WE regret to notice that the name of the counsel who acted on behalf of Mrs. Besant in the Privy Council was spelt wrongly in our last number. The name of the gentleman is S. Sinha, Esq., barrister-at-law, Bankipore.

Another incident of sacrifice resulting in death as protest against the existing social conditions in certain communities of India has occurred at Kansaripara in Bhomanipare (Bengal) recently. It appears that a young girl of fifteen, the daughter of a respectable Brahmin, had been for some time worrying over her marriage prospect. One Sunday she, unknown to the inmates of the house, shut herself in a room, saturated her clothes with kerosine oil, and set herself on fire and eventually expired. This reminds us of the heroic death of Snehadata, who burnt herself to death in order to save her father from being ruined in securing sufficient money for her dowry. We hope these unfortunate catastrophes will prove a sufficient hint for the community to take up the matter in hand earnestly, and remove this objectionable form of social evil.

We are glad to notice that an inquiry is being held as to the unaccountable fires that recently took place in many factories in Bombay, and hope the commissioners of the inquiry will be able to find out the actual cause in order to prevent the recurrence of such disasters.

The Paris correspondent of the *Parsi*, in the report dated May 6, says : "The situation in the pearl market has become very grave, and causes considerable anxiety. The state of affairs will have a disastrous effect, not only on many of the leading pearl merchants, but on several of the banks in Paris, which it is feared will have to close." The correspondent advises Bombay merchants to stop sending further consignments, and to act cautiously.



A note in the *Bombay Government Gazette* on the working of the irrigation system in Sindh for the past year shows that there are now 6,647 miles of canal-watered lands, which produced crops valued at 718 lakhs of rupees. The area irrigated was just over 3,000,000 acres, and the value of the crop was Rs. 24 per acre.

Particulars have come to hand of a tragedy on the M. and S.M. Railway in which it is reported two persons lost their lives, while several are in hospital. A mixed train, while running between Shedhal and Miraj stations, 170 miles from Poona, caught fire. There was no communication-cord on the train, so that it was impossible for the people in the train to inform the guard or driver of what was occurring. The train was eventually stopped; but not before the mischief was done. The injured people were placed in hospital at Miraj. Unfortunately, such occurrences are not very uncommon in India, and we hope the authorities will give special attention to the matter, and provide every facility to guard against such tragedies.

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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

AUGUST 15, 1914

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## "DIVIDE AND RULE"—INDIA'S DESTRUCTION!

BY J. POLLEN, CLE., LL.D.

IN last month's *Asiatic Review*, in the course of a somewhat "gall-and-wormwooly" article on "The Present Political Situation in India," Sir Henry Cotton has thought proper to assert that Indian officials *deliberately* stirred up racial and religious antagonisms between Muhammadan and Hindu.

This is so grave an accusation that, were it true, one might well despair of British rule in India. But is it true? Is it not the figment of a morbid imagination? And to deliberately bring such a charge at such a time, is not this an indication of wrong-headedness *in excelsis*? If true, surely one has the right to know who were the wicked officials who *deliberately* stirred up racial and religious antagonisms, and when and where and how and why did they do so?

Sir Henry does not tell us. He simply launches the accusation, and leads the public to believe that the stirring up of strife is at the present day part and parcel of the policy of the British Government in India. He apparently desires to divide the Government from the people, and does not hesitate to create the impression that "Divide and Rule" is one of the principles on which India is now being administered. But surely he ought to know that ever since

the Queen took over the government of India such a policy has been consistently discarded, and that for more than half a century the efforts of British administrators have been directed towards bringing about a better understanding between the different races and peoples of India, and more especially towards encouraging the union and identification of the interests of Hindus and Muhammadans. Surely peace amongst these various and varying communities has been the deliberate policy of the Government of India, and not the very reverse, as Sir Henry Cotton would lead us to believe.

Look at the wording of the Queen's proclamation. After clearly setting forth that she holds herself bound to her Indian subjects by the same obligations of duty which bind her to all her other subjects, Her Majesty says: “And it is our further will that, *so far as may be*, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.” Do these words “*so far as may be*” spell “Divide and Rule”?

In compliance with this promise, look at the way in which the Indian Civil Service has long ago been thrown open to all classes of British subjects—Irishmen and Indians alike. Was this dividing and ruling?

It must be admitted that these changes were opposed by some, and that warnings and forebodings were not wanting of what would happen

“When Haileybury's Hall of Fame  
Fell, scoffed at as an old-world sham,  
And India's service first became  
The meed of merit and of—cram!”

And there were not a few who, with undisguised dismay,

Looked in course of time to see  
Muir, Lawrence, rank with Chatterjee;  
And Colvins alternate with Dutts,  
And Ghoses elbow Elliots.”

And there have, perhaps, been also some who did believe in "Divide and Rule," in spite of the consistent attitude of Government to the contrary; but this did not prevent the changes being made or the Queen's pledges being fulfilled! There was no policy of "Divide and Rule" indicated in these changes, nor is there such a policy now.

As is well known, at the present moment the Indian Civil Service is open to all sons of India, without distinction of class, or caste, or creed. There are, it is stated, upwards of 1,700 Indian students in the United Kingdom at the present time, and there is nothing to prevent any of these youths from getting into the Covenanted Service of the Crown on their own merits, without the favour of Prince, or Lord, or King. But most of these Indian students prefer going in for the Bar, medicine, engineering, or other professions in which they can make more money and rise more rapidly, and be free and independent.

The truth is the Civil Service presents but little attraction to these youths. They are chiefly town-bred lads, and have no desire to spend their lives, as so many Indian Civilians do, in "districts desolate and dry." There are also, perhaps, other reasons why they object to the Indian Civil Service. But Indians are certainly not excluded from this service on any "Divide and Rule" principle or precaution. As a matter of fact, the actual detailed administration of India is (and has been from the first) mainly in the hands of Indian subordinates, the chief functions of the Covenanted Service being confined to direction and control.

The idea that "the religious differences which divide the Indians into two different camps have proved a useful bulwark of the British power in India" is a deplorably mistaken one, and owes its origin to the misleading but widespread belief that India was conquered by the sword, and that it is so held. Historically this is not true. India, in anything but a very partial and limited sense,

was never conquered by the sword of Britain, nor is she held by British bayonets or by British artillery! India was won by force no doubt, but that force was the force of character. Her consent was gained and her consent has been kept, and it is on India's consent that the government of India rests to-day. Indeed, consent is the only basis on which any government can endure. Let the history of Madras and Bombay Bengal and the North-West be studied thoughtfully and dispassionately and it will be understood how it came about that so many millions of India's many different peoples sought British protection, came willingly under British control and acquiesced in British supremacy of their own free will and accord, and aided in its extension.

In many instances Sovereignty was literally thrust upon the British against their will. The truth is that, (buccaneers though they may have been), these "heaven-born exploiters" (as Lalpat Rai dubs them) had won the good opinions of the masses of the people, and were in many instances made rulers by the sheer force of circumstances. Is it not a fact that the Chiefs and Princes of many a Rāj, for diverse reasons, gladly placed themselves under British protection? And have they not ever since remained loyal friends and allies of the British Government in spite of snubs and snobs and bombs and sedition?

There were many battles fought in India, it is true, and no one can deny that Clive was the victor at Plassey, that at Assaye Wellesley "clashed with his fiery few and won," and that the Baluchis were rushed by Napier at Miani, and that it took the British some trouble to beat the Sikhs. But it ought never to be forgotten that most of those who helped the British to victory on these great battlefields (where the sword, the bayonet and artillery really did prevail) were themselves Indians—sons of the soil—whose affectionate fidelity, loyalty, and devotion we had won by force of character. Again, in the dark days of the Mutiny God knows how things might

have ended had the recently-subdued Sikhs not proved true. But, as one of the Sikh Sardars has said: "They had learned to love their leaders, for they treated them like men, and they followed still where the Sahib led, and will do so again."

Nor must we forget the debt of gratitude we owe to our Indian brothers who fought for us during the ghastly siege of Lucknow. As Tennyson reminds us, our gratitude is due to them.

Praise to our Indian brothers, and let the dark face have its due!  
Thanks to the kindly dark faces, who fought for us, faithful and ~~for~~  
Fought with the bravest amongst us, and drove them and smote them  
and slew,  
That ever upon the topmost roof our banner in India blew."

In short, it would have been impossible for the British to have evolved order out of chaos, and established the Pax Britannica (as they did), had it not been for the cordial co-operation of the peoples of India themselves. All classes rallied to the rescue, co-operated with the British, and acquiesced in their control.

It would of course be idle to contend that Great Britain took over the government of India, and is running it now exclusively in the interests of India and for the good of India alone. Everyone who thinks about it understands that the concern is a "joint concern" or "partnership" in which Britons and Indians alike possess common interests and mutual rights and duties. The outstanding common interest surely is that the whole should grow, improve, advance itself, especially in its weaker parts, and such an advance would be impossible under any such Machiavellian policy as that of "Divide and Rule." Enforcement of such a policy would mean the destruction of India, and it is a very false way of looking at things to regard the peoples of India as a subject population to be kept penned up apart like sheep and goats.

It must clearly be understood that the common rights and duties are that all should care for each and each for all,

the strong being entitled, where strong, to a fair field and no favour ; and the weak, where weak, being entitled, not only to a fair field, but to all the favour the rest can afford to give. It is, in short, in the constant and cordial recognition of these natural rights and corresponding duties between all classes and creeds that the welfare of the whole of India consists, and what Britons have to do is not to "Divide and Rule," but to strive to "fellow-work" in cordial sympathy with all classes of their Indian fellow-subjects.

Unfortunately, it cannot be denied that there are some Europeans—or quasi-Europeans—now serving in India who, in their secret and sometimes open souls, simply loathe the country and everything connected therewith (except, perhaps, the hills, the clubs, golf, lawn tennis and champagne). It would be well to allow all such to retire, on proportionate pension or otherwise, and to let their places be taken by men of the Lawrence, Nicholson, Ashburner type ; men who understood and loved the races and peoples of India, and who "fellow-worked" with them for the good of all. Fortunately, there are still many such men in the ranks of the Civil Service, men who would scorn such a policy as that of "Divide and Rule," and while Britain remains true to herself the supply of such men will never fail. Administrators of this class readily recognize that the union between India and Great Britain should be one of mutual esteem, and of frank appreciation of the strong points of both, and they have always insisted that there must be due admission of the facts of mutual interdependence and sympathetic correlation. Every thoughtful man realizes that India needs us, and that we need India ; and it is not merely for commercial wealth, but for all that signifies moral and social and material advance, that India and Great Britain have been bound together. A policy of "Divide and Rule" would prove disastrous to both countries, and to proclaim to the world at large that British officials in India are deliberately engaged in setting one class against another so as to rule over all, is to add another falsehood

to the many falsehoods of the reckless kind which maddened the unfortunate, Dhingra, and which have proved so harmful to the rising youth of India. Poor Dhingra had been taught to believe that famine and plague were caused by the English, that India was robbed of hundreds of millions in the shape of annual tribute paid to England, and that Indian women were outraged wholesale with impunity by brutal British soldiers. No one contradicted these teachings, and, heated by such falsehoods, his brain gave way and he committed the atrocious murder for which he died.

Is this, then, a time to madden madness? And is it now to go forth to the youth of India as a truth that English officials are "deliberately stirring up racial and religious antagonism between Hindu and Muhammadan"? Ought not such an accusation to be emphatically contradicted? If uncontradicted, such a charge is eminently calculated to stir up *real* unrest. It may be that much of the present "unrest" is purely artificial, and many who really know India well are of opinion that far too much has been made of it, and have come to the conclusion that a great deal of this seeming unrest would disappear, if Government were only to dispense with confidential reports, and abstain from taking so much notice of anonymous communications, and from requiring secret summaries of writings in the vernacular press, etc. It seems clear that these "highly confidential" documents cannot be kept secret, and that they soon become the property of subordinate officials, and through them get into the hands of mischief-makers, who take care that fresh reports are quickly forthcoming, and thus volumes of unrest continue to rise up in tomes!

Others maintain that much of the unrest is due to our faulty system of education; and it would almost seem to be true that at a time when we had no educational system of our own we imposed a systemless system on India. Be that as it may, few facts are more remarkable than (1) the way in which the Bengalis seem to have forgiven young Macaulay (he was little more than thirty) for the conceited



manner in which he traduced and maligned their race and character, and for the ridicule and contempt he poured on their language, literature and history (of which, as Lord Sydenham has pointed out, he was sublimely ignorant), and (2) their subsequent devotion to his scheme that Higher Education in Indian Universities should be conveyed in the English language only, the idea being that English learning would filter downwards, in some haphazard way, to the uneducated masses.

Against this "downward-filtration scheme" of Macaulay's Dr. Leitner and Sir Lepel Griffin headed a crusade started by thoughtful Indians, who did not wish their sons to become half-anglicized, to think their fathers fools and despise their mothers, to neglect their own literature, and to lose their ancient code of dignified Indian manners, courteous bearing, and reverence for constituted authority. These thinkers protested against Macaulay's scheme and pressed for its revision, so as to provide for Higher Education, in matters of Western culture, being conveyed through the medium of the vernaculars, and also for honours being awarded for high proficiency in Eastern literature. They ultimately succeeded, in spite of opposition from Calcutta, in founding the Lahore University, but elsewhere Macaulay's scheme prevailed, and it is to the exaggerated prevalence of this scheme that the objectionable phases of Indian unrest have, rightly or wrongly, been attributed. However, (as has been pointed out in the preface to "*Truths about India*"), there is no objection to "unrest" in itself—for there is such a thing as wholesome unrest; but bomb-throwing and murder are utterly alien to the true spirit and religion and morals of the East, and are symptoms of Occidental disease and Western God-forsakenness.

All honest well-wishers of the peoples of India desire to help them forward on the path to Nationhood; and, (as the East India Association has now, for nearly half a century, consistently maintained,) it is only right and proper

that “the legitimate aspirations of Indians to share in the government of their own country should be recognized and sympathetically met.” The wishes, sentiments—ay, and prejudices—of the inhabitants of India should be respected, and this has been the true policy of the British Government, not the false policy of “*Divide and Rule*” (as some assert). Mistakes have, no doubt, been made from time to time, and no one pretends that the administration of India is perfect; but let us at least try to tell the real truth about this joint concern—this partnership between India and Great Britain—and it will be found that, on the whole, the government has been run honestly for the good of both. It is absurd to claim gratitude from India for magnificent public works, a vast railway network, elaborate irrigation schemes, and other proofs of the beneficence of British rule, or even for money lent at ridiculously low rates of interest, and for a cheap “Peace-Insurance Scheme” in the shape of civil and military pensions. No doubt these things and the Pax Britannica are something to be thankful for, and Mr. Justice Ranade and Mr. Gokhale and most of the thoughtful men of the Congress have never denied this. But all these things make for the good of the joint concern, and not for India alone, and the partners equally enjoy the profits. There may, thus, be room for self-congratulation, but *gratitude* is hardly the right word to employ in this connection, and cannot reasonably be expected or demanded. In some cases, indeed, the reverse of gratitude might well be excused, notably where India's cotton interests were sacrificed to gain the Lancashire vote. But be these things as they may, *Collaboration* and *Conciliation*, as proclaimed by the King at Delhi, ought to be the true watchwords of officials in India, and of Britons generally, in their dealings with Indians. The greater the sympathy and affection between the people and the officials, and between Britons and Indians, the better for all. To sow divisions and dissensions between the officials and the people would seem to be the deliberate policy of some

evil-minded persons. But so long as the officials (British and Indian, alike) "do justice, and love mercy," and work for the good of the people, these mischief-makers will never succeed.

No doubt the pacification and successful administration of India constitute a glorious record for the "blended race" (as the Poet Laureate, Alfred Austin, called the inhabitants of these Western Isles), and the achievement is one of which any race might well be proud! But the readiness with which the Indian peoples themselves acquiesced in British control and submitted to recognized authority rendered the task of reorganization easier and proved a vast and abiding benefit to all.

Let Britain, then, be true to herself, and continue to persevere in her policy of welding the many nations and peoples of India together—

"Into one Imperial whole,  
One with Britain, heart and soul !  
One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne !"

And let our proud motto be—

Not "Divide and Rule"  
but  
"UNITE AND RULE."

For "United we stand, Divided we fall!"

## ENGLAND AND ISLAM

By SIR THOMAS BARCLAY, LL.B.

LAST year a distinguished French politician, in an article in a Paris morning paper, expressed himself strongly against a view I had then recently expressed in favour of a *politique d'intérêts*. I put the article in a safe place, to keep with the purpose of dealing with it at leisure, and the fate of such precautions has overtaken me. I cannot find it at the moment when I require it.

Now is the occasion to deal with it, because the relations of the British Empire to Islam are essentially a case in point.

Towards Islam sentiment has largely dictated British public feeling ; interest, British policy. While public sympathy in England has always been keenly on the side of Christian against Muhammadan, on the side of the Christian communities in the Ottoman Empire struggling for emancipation from Turkish rule, English statesmen have confined direct action to improving their status and condition within that Empire. While Greece in particular has been a sort of "pet" of British public opinion—a feeling so strong that even statesmen themselves could not resist the temptation to help these heirs to an ancient civilization and the proud traditions of independence and genius which generations of the modern occidental have been trained to admire, and at the present hour this affection for every-

thing Greek accounts for much which has recently taken place—interest has always bid them beware of the possible consequences of yielding to sentiment where important British interests are involved.

Thus there is in England towards Islam in the Near East a somewhat paradoxical attitude, in which public sympathy has not always marched shoulder to shoulder with political expediency. The atrocities of the reign of Abdul Hamid accentuated this dualism, and sentiment became so overwhelmingly strong that Turkey had to look elsewhere for protection, to the signal detriment of British interests.

When one speaks of a British interest, it is necessary to explain what the interest of an Empire composed of so many varied and scattered units may be. What may constitute an important interest to one part of it may even be detrimental to another. British rule in Asia, for instance, may have to take account of Asiatic rivalries in which a Power whose co-operation may be desirable in one part of that vast continent may have to be resisted most strenuously in another. Again, the interest of Australasia may be, towards the same Power, different from that of India. Then, again, British interests in Europe may be quite different from those of either India or Australasia. Even on the American continent there are West Canadian interests which may be far from identical with those of Eastern Canada and still more so with those of the mother country.

Then what is a British interest?

A distinction must be made between what we may call the political interest, which is permanent, and the material interest, which is essentially dependent on circumstances which may be as elastic as the political interest is or ought to be fixed.

The chief political interest of any country is its self-preservation. That of Great Britain is the preservation of the integrity of the Empire and the keeping of all its

composite elements together. These elements are of varied character: Some are kept within the Empire at the cost of allowing them practical independence. This is the case with the self-governing colonies of Australia, Canada, and South Africa. Other parts, the chief of which is India, are kept within the Empire by a denial of self-government and a highly developed autocracy. The preservation of the British Empire therefore involves an Imperial policy which reflects very different political conditions, and which may be weak in one part of the Empire and strong in another.

Among the different elements of the Empire, the parts of it over which a policy is capable of maintaining the greatest consistency, and which are in closest connection with domestic interests, are, of course, the dependencies to which self-government has not been granted. Thus, India and Egypt are more closely bound up with the European policy of the United Kingdom than can be colonies which have a voice in their own destiny.

British world-policy, to use the German phrase, is, therefore, in the first place, the interest of keeping in good condition the chain which binds the British dependencies, as distinguished from the self-governing colonies, to the British Crown, represented by the King and his Government in London. These dependencies they can include in the determination of every move on the political chess-board, and before they can speak for the colonies they have already decided for the dependencies.

In the working of this British Imperial policy, although government is autocratic, the populations are governed with a conscientious effort to make them contented and prosperous, and to win the friendship and gratitude of the governed is a part of British policy. Both in India and in Egypt the Muhammadan populations have on the whole shown a high appreciation of these purposes and a strong attachment to British rule. Muhammadan moral

doctrine has much more in common with Protestant moral doctrine than any other Eastern religion, and in particular between the Muhammadans generally and Englishmen generally there is an elective affinity which has made disloyalty to British rule less common among Muhammadans than among any other of the alien peoples it is the British lot to govern.

Not to disaffect the King's Muhammadan subjects is therefore closely connected with that fundamental policy of self-preservation to which I have referred above.

In my book on the "Turco-Italian War," Syed Ameer Ali contributed a chapter on the way in which Muhammadan opinion was affected by that war. Syed Ameer Ali is an Indian Muhammadan who, after having reached a high place on the Indian Bench, was promoted to a seat on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which acts as the highest court of appeal from British dependencies. His position among the Muhammadans of India and elsewhere is the lofty one of a descendant of the Prophet's family. In England he is a champion of Islam who never fails to stand out in the open where its interests and sympathies are at stake.

"In India," says Ameer Ali, "the Mussulmans are anxious to remain loyal to British rule, and to profit by the peace it has introduced in the country to achieve their material and moral development. But their religious and traditional sympathies extend far beyond the land they inhabit; by race and religion the bulk of them are allied to peoples outside India. Their religious and historical ideals are thus bound up with the independent existence of those peoples. It is absolutely in the nature of things that every throb in their hearts should create a responsive throb in the hearts of the Mussulmans of India. The Muhammadan subjects of the King who have given their whole-hearted loyalty to the Throne of England have a right to expect that their feelings and sentiments relating to their most cherished traditions should receive considera-

tion in the general policy of the Empire, especially when those feelings and interests coincide with the demands of justice, humanity, and international obligations."

Ameer Ali described the outburst of sympathy of Muhammadan India with the wrongs of Turkey in the war in question. At a mass meeting at Calcutta an oath was taken by the Mussulman merchants, who have dealings with Italy, not to touch Italian goods in the future, and then and there all available Italian goods were burnt as polluted objects.

Again, in connection with the Russian invasion of Persia, Ameer Ali wrote :

"In this state of feeling in India, the Russian advance into Persia has naturally increased the excitement and alarm. In 1907 England and Russia entered into a convention with the object of removing all causes of friction between their respective Empires. Although the British and Russian Governments marked out two distinct "spheres of influence" in that ill-fated country, its independence and integrity were solemnly guaranteed by both. And now, forsooth, on the allegation that an American citizen in the service of Persia, in the conscientious discharge of his duties, has shown himself either over-zealous or less sycophantic than was expected, the country is invaded by Russia, and her very existence as an independent State is in jeopardy. The disastrous effect of the Russian advance on the Indian mind can hardly be overrated. It will give colour to the growing impression that the European Powers are bent on destroying Mussulman States ; it will add to the prevailing unrest which every loyalist deplures, and will certainly cause a weakening in that feeling of trust in the British sense of justice which has given England such a strong hold on the loyalty of the people of India."

I believe from intercourse with Muhammadans that this is no exaggeration.

It is seen that the place of Islam in British policy is a very considerable one, and that a British foreign minister



is bound to take into account that in India alone there is a Mussulman population of 60,000,000: As the whole white population of the British Empire barely exceeds 54,000,000, the value to it of a loyal population of 60,000,000 among a mixed population of 300,000,000—which is that of India—is fairly obvious.

The consequences of this situation ought, therefore, to be considered in British policy more particularly in regard to Turkey and the Khalifate, which is enthroned at Constantinople. A British foreign minister cannot safely confine his outlook to the neighbours of the two little islands in Europe, with their tiny population of some 44,000,000. He has to bear in mind British interests involving a total population of some ten times as great, and among all this vast population are the white colonial population of some 10,000,000 and the Mussulman population of India of 60,000,000. Without wishing to reflect in any way on the loyalty of the Hindoo and other peoples of India, they do not possess a common religious leadership, and are not to any similar extent capable of common impressions or of joint action. It is this collective attribute of the Muhammadans which makes them the power they are, without need of invoking the now obsolete idea of a militant Pan-Islamism.

This is only the, so to speak, inner aspect of British policy in regard to Islam. There is also an outer and equally important aspect—the aspect which is connected with the distribution of the Empire itself and the character of its neighbours in Asia.

A glance at the map of Asia shows India lying south of mountain ranges which, starting in China, cross the vast continent and divide Asia geographically into a northern and a southern area, with as absolutely distinct characters as if they were divided by oceans. South of these mountains are spread out the interests of Anglo-Saxon and Frenchman. North are those of the Slavonic, Tartar, and other peoples forming the population of the Russian Empire. The territory of Northern Asia is capable of becoming

another Canada to the European. It is under-peopled and capable of similar settlement and development under civilized government. Southern Asia is it anything over-peopled and under settled government. There is a sharp contrast between these two sections of Asia. They have the different destinies of two continents remote from each other.

Between them where geographical contact is possible are Afghanistan, Beluchistan, Persia, and Turkey, Muhammadan countries which serve the purpose of strengthening the natural barriers which have saved Southern Asia, under European protection, from the excesses of Northern fanaticism.

Great Britain has an interest of the first order in the preservation of these Muhammadan countries against Russian aggression. At the cost of immense efforts she has secured Afghanistan and Beluchistan, and is helping the populations of these countries to obtain the blessings of orderly and humane government. I cannot say that British policy has shown an equally intelligent grasp of the enormous importance to British interests in Asia of the integrity of Persia.

This is not the place to discuss the questions which arise out of the present unnatural grouping of the Powers of Europe and the misfortune to the world of sacrificing the permanent interests of any country to historical or sentimental considerations. A policy which is not based on interest, political or materialistic, is a dangerous one which excites the suspicion of its neighbours, exposes it to irritating conflicts, and to that uncertainty of the morrow which for some years back has been the curse of Western Europe.

If I have spoken only of England and Islam, I have not forgotten that what applies to England in a great measure applies also to France, whose interests are in a sense parallel with those of England. Any shaking of the power of the one must necessarily affect the power of the other. It is in

the interest of both to preserve the integrity not only of the Ottoman Empire as it now remains, but also to act together in holding the Russian Government to its deliberate undertaking to respect the independence and integrity of Persia, which it is a part of British policy to maintain not only as belonging to the chain of Indian defence, but in deference to the loyal Mussulman population of India which England cannot afford to disregard.

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## THE BALKAN MIGRATIONS

BY R. A. H. BICKFORD-SMITH

DURING the last two or three months a great many telegrams and a considerable number of leading articles have appeared in the newspapers, alleging ill-treatment of Greeks by Turks and Bulgarians, of Servians by Bulgarians, of Bulgarians by Greeks and Servians, and of Turks by Greeks. The figures given are so large, and the persecutions so malicious, that an inquiry into the actual facts has become imperative.

Before proceeding to a classification of statistics, it will be well to get a general idea of the position in the Balkans at the end of the recent wars, which has made emigration and immigration necessary, and ill-treatment possible and even probable.

When the partition of Macedonia took place, a large number of Turks, Bulgarians, and Greeks were settled in Servia, a large number of Bulgarians and Turks and a few Servians were settled in the new part of Greece, a large number of Greeks and Turks and a few Servians were settled in the new Bulgaria, while there remained a considerable number of Greeks and a few Bulgarians in what was left of European Turkey. The region in which these aliens were found had recently—or a very large part of it—been the scene of warfare of a particularly truculent kind. Many of these aliens themselves had taken part in it; and no doubt not a few neighbours had been at death-grips

with each other a few weeks before. Peace had been declared, a readjustment of territory had been carried out (on paper), and Europe seems to have assumed that the old enemies had become new friends at a stroke of the diplomatic pen. But human nature—especially human nature in the Balkans—pays more heed to the sword than to the pen. The Powers, when redrawing the map of South-Eastern Europe, ought to have instituted a clearing-house for aliens; it was their duty to see that the consequences of their act should be as little onerous to the peoples involved as possible. The Press throughout the world does not seem to have given any consideration to what ought to have been to it the obvious results of the Treaties of London and Bucharest. No doubt the Press was tired of the Near East, and, as Mr. John Mavrogordato says in the preface of his “Letters from Greece,” was “chiefly concerned, as far as I remember, with ‘A Murder in a Taxi,’ ‘A Tragedy in a West-end Flat,’ and ‘A Blind Earl in an Omnibus.’” But even if the Press had other serious business to attend to, it was, at any rate, the duty of the foreign offices of Europe to arrange a scheme for the exchange of farms between the refugees of the different countries. It was not fair to the Balkan States, who had so recently been at each other’s throats, and had had no time in which to cultivate friendlier feelings towards each other, to expect them to be able to settle the matter satisfactorily among themselves; moreover, they were all preoccupied with the organization of their new provinces.

The allocation of the different “nationals” before the wars was as follows:—

	Bulgarians.	Turks.	Servians.	Greeks.
Bulgaria...	3,000,000	600,000	A few	70,000
Greece ...	—	A few	—	2,700,000
Servia ...	A few	—	2,500,000	A few
Turkey ...	700,000	700,000	—	500,000

From this it will be seen that the number of aliens resident in Greece and Servia is negligible. A few Turks

remained, and still remain, in Thessaly, and in fact, just after Thessaly was given to Greece, the Turks had two representatives in the Greek Chamber of Deputies. There was at that time no sudden emigration of Moslems, but the Turks gradually left, preferring to live under the shadow of the Crescent. Their farms were not confiscated, and they did not migrate until they were able to sell them on reasonable terms.

The position is now entirely different. Vast masses of the population have to be dealt with carefully and promptly. An emergency exit has to be found, and an emergency entrance too.

A weekly review, which is not as well known as it deserves to be, *The Near East*, gives very carefully obtained and well-sifted information with regard to what transpires in the south-east of Europe. As it caters for pro-Bulgarians, pro-Greeks, pro-Rumanians, pro-Servians, and pro-Turks, it is obviously in its interests to be as impartial as possible. Its Constantinople letter, in its issue of June 5, 1914, includes the following statement: "There has been a good deal of talk of 'atrocities' committed by the Greeks at the expense of Moslems in 'Greater Greece,' and the writer has been at pains to verify some of the stories which he has heard. Thus far he has been unable to obtain confirmation of the graver charges brought against the Greeks. Political murders have, in two or three cases, turned out to be the commercial operations of brigands, who have since added Christians to their bag.

"The Greek officials from Athens seem on the whole to have behaved well; but there can be no doubt that some of the minor Greek officials recruited in Macedonia, and a large section of the Greek population, cannot refrain from pin-pricks, and from what might best be described by the schoolboy word 'ragging.'"

The same paper, in its Salonica letter, tells us: "The immigration and emigration question is daily becoming more acute; so much so, that the commander of the gen-

darmerie, who is our Chief of Police, has issued an order that, whereas during the last and present months 65,000 Greek refugees from Thrace have arrived in Salonica, of whom 12,000 remain here, 4,000 of them being in the vicinity of the Custom-house, and 2,500 still on board steamers, through there being no place available for them, while some tens of thousands, expelled through Turkey, are expected; and whereas, owing to the presence of Turkish emigrants in the towns, there is a danger of quarrels and disputes between the two elements, calculated to cause further excitements and disorder—until this danger no longer exists all emigration through this port, and all entry of refugees into this town, are provisionally prohibited."

In a telegram from Sofia, quoted in the *Morning Post* of June 10, we have the following statement made by the Bulgarian Prime Minister in the Sobranje: "The Government does not approve recent proceedings, and is even desirous of avoiding any suspicion being cast on its attitude, because it wishes to smooth over the strife of the past, and to establish better relations with our neighbours, so as to preserve the Bulgarian element in Macedonia and prevent the exodus of unfortunate people, which is irritating public opinion, and is expensive to the Exchequer. As to the guilty parties, if there are any, they will be punished."

The attitude of the Turkish Government does not appear to be so correct. The *Times* of June 11, 1914, says: "The present acute unrest is attributable to the drastic policy adopted by the Committee of Union and Progress, which is understood to have decided irrevocably upon the expulsion of all Greeks from Asia Minor and from 'Turkish Thrace,' and in a telegram from Constantinople, 'bands of Muhadkirs (Turks from other parts of the Empire), led by agitators belonging to the Committee of Union and Progress, who were recently at work in Thrace, have transferred their activities to the Dardanelles and the Anatolian coast. In consequence, thousands of Greeks

have fled, and the local anti-Greek leaders are making small fortunes by buying their sheep and cattle at ridiculous prices, and reselling at a huge profit. In some cases there has been considerable destruction of property."

Later still (June 19, 1914) we are told: "I calculate that up to the present time between 4,000 and 5,000 people have quitted Chesmé town, and a like number the neighbouring district. As regards Aivali and Adremite, reports from Mytilene announce the arrival of over 6,000 from the mainland opposite.

#### "THE YOUNG TURK SCHEME

"This quartering of Mussulman refugees from Macedonia in all Greek villages situated on the Asiatic sea-coast, and particularly in those lying opposite Chios and Mytilene, would appear to be the practical application of a general political scheme recently adopted by the Ottoman Government. All indications go to prove that the object of the Young Turks is to interpose a barrier between the islands and the Asiatic hinterland in the shape of a solid mass of Mussulman inhabitants all along the coast. This, in the opinion of leading official Turks, will ultimately, and as a natural consequence, put a stop to, or at least considerably diminish, all the Pan-Hellenic propaganda which has been going on for years, and which has received immense impetus owing to the facilities afforded by the proximity of Chios and Mytilene, now in Greek hands. The propagandists have always found amongst the sea-coast Greek rayahs a fruitful soil for their activities. 'Sterilize' this soil and penetration into the hinterland would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. Such, in a few words, is the line of reasoning which, coupled with a natural desire for retaliation, and an innate hatred of the Greek race in general, has led to the decision forcibly to quarter Mussulman refugees in Greek villages. So long as this policy is carried out unaccompanied by rape or murder, it is difficult to imagine how any outside interference can be



effected with reasonable hopes of success. But should excesses take place on a large scale, then may foreign intervention be speedy and severe, for the match once applied to such inflammable stuff as Moslem Macedonian refugees, a conflagration might ensue which would not leave a single Christian alive in Asia Minor. The Government are now aware of this danger, and spare no efforts to keep their co-religionists well within bounds, but a word of warning in the right quarter might do much to diminish the risks of a general upheaval."

It should also be remembered that the Greeks are in the habit of looking at all this Balkan territory as belonging to them by long-established rights ; they have, of course, forfeited these rights by conquest, but they feel that they have a moral right to attempt the reconquest. And this is not only, or indeed mainly, because of their heirship to the Byzantine Empire. The sense of ownership dates back far farther, to the days when their ancestors colonized these lands, and founded trading-marts and cities in them. After all it was the Hellenic imagination—love of natural beauty, perhaps ; the mercantile marine instinct, perhaps—which went *εἰς τὴν πόσιν* and discovered Byzantium. And this claim to a founder's privileges is not a mere empty sentiment ; it is this that heartens the refugees from Thrace to hope for a new Constantine's hold over Constantinople ; it is this that brought over 40,000 patriots to fight for Hellenism and Christianity—convertible terms for them—against the barbarians.

Something, of course, will have to be sacrificed, not only during the cross-migrations, but in the final result. Although homogeneity of population in a state may, from some points of view, be ideal, it has, in some directions, drawbacks. For instance, the Bulgarians are bad gardeners : no race is more capable of supplying our society beauties with their attar of roses (not synthetic) than they. And what is Turkey going to do without her commercial Greek? Thrace and Asia Minor without Greeks are unimaginable.

Armenians may act as salesmen, but as secretaries and clerks, who can do the work done by the Greeks for hundreds, even thousands, of years? And who will run the ports? Since the days of the Phœnicians, who were probably their precursors and instructors, the trade of the Levant has been in Greek hands. And it is exactly between the sea and the hinterland that the Young Turks are supposed to be resolved to impose a Moslem feeder. Ever since the days when Æolian, Ionian, and Doric (A, I, D will aid the memory as to their distribution in Asia Minor) peopled that country, they have only tolerated the Persian or the Turk as ruler—never as owner. Their ambition has been in the first place commercial rather than political, but the Hellenic idea is rooted deep in the heart of every Greek, however long he may have been in bondage. Besides, his bondage is not degrading; at any rate, not for him. It has been his habit to impose his customs, his culture, and often even his language, on his conqueror. The Greek type can no more be obliterated or bullied out of existence than the Jewish. So the Young Turks had better retain as many Greeks as they can, in Asia Minor at any rate.

I think a calm perusal of the different official and unofficial accounts will establish the fact that the higher authorities in Bulgaria, Greece and Servia are doing their best in very difficult circumstances. With regard to Turkey one does not feel quite so sure. The Young Turk is—well, he is not the Old Turk, whose methods we at any rate understood; and the ejection of Greeks from Asia Minor and Thrace certainly looks as if it were more than connived at by the authorities.

As for the Turks, a word of advice is given in a book of sonnets entitled “The Wider West,” which was published about a year ago.

#### JIHAD

Mashallah! Splendid! Ring the clarion loud!

The greatest of Jihads we see begin!

Allah has pardoned our unfilial sin—

Laid it to rest in many a pallid shroud.

The Sun is clear, fled is the fleeting cloud ;  
We hear anew the darkling battle's din •  
Most glorious the victories we shall win,  
For all to Allah is now freshly vowed.

Our new Jihad shall be against the Ginns,  
The Giaour in ourselves, the doubts abhorred,  
For which we've drunk death's chalice to the brim.  
A holier life shall purge us of our sins.  
Sent forth by God we must go back to Him,  
Humble, more worthy of our perfect Lord.

Let them ; and Europe will sympathize and applaud.

It is probably not too late yet for a conference to be held consisting of three representatives of each of the states concerned, under the chairmanship of some distinguished man appointed by the Powers. There is not the slightest reason why there should be any rivalry between the alliance and the entente. While a scheme was being drawn up for the exchange in detail of the various properties, a truce would naturally be called, and there would be an improvement in relations temporarily, and this would tend to permanency in the case of farms which it might be found impracticable to barter.

Meanwhile, it is the duty of the Press and the public to be patient. Europe must be led to realize that this intermigration was a thing that had to come to pass, and that will prove for the ultimate good—the inestimable good in days to come—of the Near Eastern nations. It is only in this way that the Balkan spectre can be laid to rest for ever.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT ALBANIA

BY C. TELFORD ERICKSON

"He who misses the pathetic fact that Albania's case is a pathological one—be he Prince, Commissioner, Diplomat, or Journalist—is hopelessly in the dark in dealing with the present situation from any standpoint."

THE present turbulence—revolution, if you are pleased to call it so—is a symptom and a sign to be read as a high pulse and fever are read by the physician, and therefore to be dealt with in the same spirit and to the same end—namely, the eradicating of the disease and the cure of the suffering patient. Moral degenerates have been cured by the lifting of some pressure on the brain. Mental imbeciles have been restored to normal minds by the removal of some extraneous growth, or the substitution of a living, healthy tissue for a diseased one. Albania is neither a moral degenerate nor a mental imbecile, but there is danger that, unless the treatment she has received in the past and is receiving in the present is radically altered, she will become both, to the lasting menace of Europe's peace and the well-being of humanity. Fever patients are no longer strapped to their beds, nor moral degenerates put in "straight jackets," to discipline them and save the community from their violence. Why should these methods be applied to Albania? It is so easy to vilify or to blacken character, especially when the character of a weak, struggling nation is assailed by those who hope to profit by her

humiliation, and there is no strong nation willing to defend her honour without price, and just for honour's sake.

Albania has had more than her share of traducers and blackmailers, whose price for silence is that this nation crush out the racial instincts and sentiments extending back into far antiquities, ages before their persecutors ever had a racial consciousness, and commit hari-kari for their sakes. Briefly described, what are the symptoms which this "patient" discloses: for years the country has been in an almost constant state of insurrection, not to say anarchy. Turkey has had to maintain armies there numbering from twenty to eighty thousand strong, and an uprising was only suppressed in one quarter to break out in another. The Turkish Government apparently hated the Albanians, and were hated as genuinely by the Albanians on their side. Albanian leaders were fond of quoting an Arab proverb to me that "Allah gave two pests to mankind, the locust and the Turk."

What was the cause underlying all this? Briefly, refusal of Turkey to recognize Albanian nationality. From the Turkish standpoint, because the majority of the Albanian people were Muhammadan, the nation must merge itself into the Empire, and submit itself to be Ottomanized. Its manhood must fill the ranks of the Turkish army, generally for Arabia, where from 75 to 90 per cent. of them perished. Their taxes must go to Constantinople for the Imperial treasury, and the levy was always high, though not always collected. As loyal Ottoman subjects, they must not concern themselves with such questions as the Albanian language, Albanian schools, roads built with their own taxes (which amounted for this purpose, in some parts at least, to 2s. 9d. per head), the development of the resources of the country, the improvement of industrial and agricultural conditions. They must be content to suffer, to sacrifice, to starve, to suppress every national interest and aspiration, even the national consciousness itself, to the end that the glorious Empire of the Padisha might be preserved.

When the people saw the officials of that Government, foreign to them in race and language, thriving on oppression, their loyalty and patriotism (and the Albanian people are by nature intensely loyal) would not stand the strain. Hence there was rebellion. It is true that it never accomplished much, for Turkey, with all the power in her hands, was able to so play one district off against another as to effectually checkmate anything like a united and nationwide uprising. The Greeks were given a free hand in Southern Albania for their propaganda, which they were not slow to avail themselves of, and by means of schools and churches, priests and teachers, an army of political agents, even armed bands of brigands to bring force to bear when necessary, they effectually neutralized all effort in Southern Albania. In Northern Albania it was the Catholics under the protectorate of Austria, with the unofficial participation of Italy, that isolated, but to a much less degree denationalized, another large group. They were so controlled that independence of action and initiative was practically impossible. Another factor of division was the blood feud, arising undoubtedly from the fact that no justice was administered by the Government, therefore the individual sought it for himself, taking vengeance that must in turn be paid back; and so this horrible system fastened itself upon family, and even tribal, groups, setting them in bitterest enmity and hatred of one another. Then a system approximating to feudalism has prevailed in Albania, which has given powerful influence and authority to various chiefs. Many of these men have obtained their position by the personal favour of Abdul Hamid and other Sultans, and these could be counted on to serve Turkey's interests. Also among the hereditary chieftains there existed a great deal of jealousy and enmity and feud. All of these conditions, combined together with the ignorance and poverty of the people, enabled Turkey to keep the country in subjection, and punish with a strong hand any individual or section that might champion the nation's rights.

In spite of these things, during the last three or four years there had grown up a strong nationalist party, with a splendid group of young leaders, representing all parts of the country. And it is significant that only a few weeks before the opening of the Balkan War they had succeeded in assembling on the plains of Prishtina, now given over to Serbia, such a formidable army that the Turkish Government sent a Commission to make peace with them at any price, which they did by conceding practically every one of the thirteen demands which the Albanians had drawn up. This rather extended review of recent history is necessary in order to give us an insight into the present difficulties, and enable us to diagnose the case and so suggest a remedy.

During the Balkan War the Albanians took a neutral position. They would not fight for Turkey, and their offer to fight with the Allies was refused on the ground that the Albanian territory was to be divided between them. Hence they appealed to Europe, and trusted their cause in her hands.

Again they were treated with great injustice. No concern was shown for their welfare; armies were allowed to traverse the country, to pillage and burn and destroy and massacre the non-resisting inhabitants; no respect was paid to their national rights; artificial boundaries were drawn, cutting off a third of their best territory and over a million of a pure Albanian population, against whom their new Governments have employed all manner of forcible methods in order to coerce them into subjection. I travelled through Albania a year ago, meeting with scores of Albanian leaders, after the northern half of the eastern boundary had been fixed—viz., that between Albania and Montenegro-Servia—and these men would not believe that the great Powers would allow that injustice to stand. They believed that if we only knew the truth (so simple was their faith), justice would be done. Even when for ten months the country was without a Government, save such as their

leaders had hastily constructed among themselves, there was no disorder, no violence in the whole land. They were only waiting for Europe to send them a Prince, and among them all there was not one who said he should be a Muhammadan, or a Catholic, or a Greek Orthodox. They believed he should be outside and neutral.

The ground for the present harvest of revolution and anarchy was in a measure already prepared, but the seed was sown during those ten months of waiting.

Without going into details, the proofs are absolute and incontestable that the uprising in Epirus among the Christian population, as well as that in Central Albania among the Muhammadans, so far from being a spontaneous outburst of the people, were carefully planned and worked out by agents for other Powers, who hoped to profit by the breaking up of Albania, working in conjunction with certain Albanian chiefs, who have always been ready to betray their country for a price.

And it is a thousand pities, first, that a settled Government could not have been established sooner; and, second, that once the Prince and his advisers were established, they did not grasp the situation, and adopt the very simple and obvious measures necessary to reassure and calm the population. Had the Prince made a tour of the country; shown himself to the people; talked with their leaders; recognized and utilized the men of worth and power in their various sections, who knew the country and the nation and its needs, and taken them into confidence; begun the construction of some roads, utilizing the thousands of homeless and starving refugees for this purpose; assured and reassured, if need be, each religious group that full liberty of conscience and worship was to be accorded them, that they had nothing to fear; opened national schools in various centres, all of which would have cost very much less than the extensive campaign that has been conducted with force of gun and cannon—it is certain that in spite of all the enemies without and within, in spite



of the complicated and impossible machinery of government set up by the Powers, the Prince would have won the hearts of this really splendid and noble race, and the horror of these last weeks would have been averted.

With the setting of Albania's Government house in order I have nothing to do. I am simply an American missionary to this people, who believes in them and who loves them, who has sacrificed for them, and is ready, if need be, to do so again. Before any Prince was appointed I strongly advised the Albanian leaders against the plan, urging instead that they ask for Commission form of government, at least for some years—a Commission chosen from some one neutral Power, having no personal interest in the country; a British, or even an American, Commission would have served admirably. The head would be a man with experience in dealing with primitive peoples; each member of the Commission would be an expert chosen for some department because of his knowledge and ability in that department, for agriculture an expert, for finance an expert, all going in without show or ceremony, and setting, to work at once to better the condition of the people. I believe with all my heart that such a plan would have succeeded. I believe that were Albania neutralized by the Powers now, every nation taking its hand off from trying to order affairs there, guaranteeing only the integrity of the state with its present boundaries, giving notice to those Powers who are secretly making trouble to cease—which could very easily be done—that with this, half of her troubles would be at an end. For the other half, it must be recognized that wrongs centuries old have taken root there that thousands are homeless and starving, that the people have been bled and betrayed and deceived with false promises and fed on false hopes so long that only much patience and kindness and sympathy will heal the wound.

Albania is a country rich in natural resources. Thousands of acres of rich, fertile valley lie fallow, waiting for the modern agriculturalist and farmer to reward their labour

with abundant harvests. Near Scutari in the north this valley is narrow, for the mountains come down close to the sea; but it broadens towards the south, till it is forty to fifty miles wide. Tempered both in winter and summer by the Adriatic, there are no extremes of heat or cold, allowing of a great variety of fruits and grains, vegetables and nuts, to be grown. Olives, figs, grapes, peaches, apricots, plums, apples, as well as other fruits, grow splendidly there, and could become a great industry. Almonds and English walnuts, without scientific culture, grow well, and possess a fine flavour. With a demand as great as there is to-day, this ought to be developed into a very profitable industry. So also melons; the Casaba melon selling in London for from two to four shillings can be had in finer flavour in Albania for as many pence. Is it impossible that these melons should appear on the English dinner-table only forty hours away?

Likewise with the grains: the farmers are industrious, hard-working people, men, women, and children devoting themselves together to their fields and crops, growing maize, wheat, rye, oats, barley, flax, and tobacco. The latter crop is already known in London, and, I am told, very greatly appreciated.

The seasons are long there, with plenty of sunshine and a fair distribution of rainfall, so that two crops, a long and a short one, can be grown easily on the same soil. In one section, where something like modern methods prevail, eighty- to one hundred-fold yield is not uncommon.

So vital in importance do we consider the development of agriculture in Albania that we are bringing out from America an agricultural expert to work in connection with the Mission, but having no funds for this branch of our work, he will be very seriously handicapped. If some "lover of mankind" has at his disposal a few thousand pounds he would find a rare opportunity here to uplift and emancipate a race.

Again, there is every indication that Albania is rich in

mineral resources. This is not only common belief among the people, but the report of a mining expert who went out from London last autumn at my suggestion confirms it. Copper and oil, coal and mica, asphalt and sulphur, are known to exist, as also gold. The mountains also contain a very fine growth of forest that has never been touched. Rivers from the mountains, with the Adriatic nowhere far distant, afford every natural facility for the handling of these various products.

There is one serious handicap to the development of Albania's splendid resources, beyond the political turmoil. The latter is superficial and will pass, but the former is rooted deep in the nation's life. That is the system of land tenure which obtains in Albania. Probably four-fifths of the land is at present held by the Beys in large tracts. Almost without exception, these Beys are "land poor," with very little money for developing their holdings; with the result that three-fourths probably, certainly half, of their land lies uncultivated, given over to wilderness. Small farmers cultivate the land in their primitive way, giving the Bey half of their crop, and, hitherto, the Turkish Government a good portion of the remainder.

Many of the Beys are splendid men according to their knowledge, but a very large number have little concern beyond eating and drinking and other pleasures. The British landlord's care for his tenants, their health, sanitation in their homes and villages, social welfare, their education, their pleasures, their moral and religious life—all this is far removed from the mind of the ordinary Bey, and yet there is a sort of authority exercised (not always wisely) over the dependents, and where there is actual want and suffering it is relieved. The Beys are not as a class selfish—that would be contrary to the native instinct which loves to dispense hospitality—and these are called upon to do their share; but they are incompetent and inefficient to have such large powers and responsibilities as are at present in their hands. One of the causes se

forth for the present uprising was this very question. The people resent it, and at heart revolt against the system, and it is one of the first duties of a stable Government to deal with this question.

The religious question I will deal with in few words. To-day in Albania there is no religion that commands the general confidence of the people, and is so deep grounded in their lives, so high enthroned, as to be—as religion should be—supreme and dominant and masterful. Certainly not Muhammadanism, which was forced upon them and is inextricably woven up with Turkish misrule. The “Baba” of their religious faith has been at the same time the Padisha of their temporal authority, ever taking more with his left hand than he gives with his right. Hence the Albanians say: “Let the Baba go; what good has he done for us? He never gives, he always takes.”

Of the Greek Orthodox faith, I sometimes think that it is less vital and dominating than Muhammadanism. It is so palpably, openly, exclusively, a political concern. Its priesthood, trained from childhood to deny and hate their mother tongue and race, to believe that the sun rises and sets on the eastern and western shores of Greece, ignorant, narrow-minded men, often given to drunkenness and other vices, are, to a great extent, poor “blind leaders of the blind.” Some, of course, are most excellent men, living honest and sincere lives, who exercise a wholesome restraint over their people; but I am convinced that there must be instituted great reforms in that Church, the bishops and priesthood must give themselves less to politics and more to piety; less to warfare with guns and cannon and armed brigandage, and more to a spiritual warfare against drunkenness and vice and deceit and dishonesty; less to building up a Greek kingdom in Southern Albania, and more to building up the Kingdom of God in righteousness and peace, or else their Church and cause in Southern Albania is doomed, as it should be.

The Catholics in the north are too closely bound up

with Austria. 'To act as protector, as Austria was commissioned by the Berlin Treaty to do, is one thing ; to build their churches and cathedrals, schools and orphanages, pay their priests, subsidize their higher officials, as she has done, is quite another. The Catholic Church is very rich, and had the priests of Albania gone among its members and pleaded the cause of their people, I am sure there would have been generous and ample response. There was no necessity for Government funds and action in these matters. It has worked harm to the Catholic Albanians, it has provoked jealousy in their neighbouring state, Italy, created a rivalry in "good works" that might better have been left undone ; for in the minds of the Albanian people, who by nature are proud and free as their mountain eagles, neither Austria nor Italy have gained esteem.

## INDIANS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

BY EDMUND J. SOLOMON

ALL who are interested in the welfare of our Indian fellow-subjects must now be awaiting the result of the Public Services Commission in India with feelings of mingled hope and misgiving. Hope should be inspired by the presence of several Indian gentlemen on the commission, not to mention so well-known a friend of the Indian people as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald; these may be expected to provide us with an enlightening minority report. Yet the very name "commission" has an ominous sound; 'tis a word of ill-fame in our own "free" country, much more in a land governed by a foreign bureaucracy. Even in England a commissioner may find it hard to extort an honest opinion from an agricultural labourer, to employ an example fresh in our minds. The man is often in deadly fear of offending his landlord, and quite prepared to underrate, or to deny altogether, his grievances, that he may avoid giving offence to the all-powerful master. We are sure to find such an attitude common among the Indian people, for whom the dreaded master is not merely a social and economic superior, but the dispenser of the laws, the commander of the army, the very government of his country. Former commissions have shown that well-educated Indians, and even princes of high standing, are extremely shy of exposing a grievance; a bad name with

for several years in England at a University or cramming school. Such a state of affairs is not in accordance with liberal principles, and, moreover, cannot be excused by the circumstances. It is not to the point to exclaim that the Indian aristocratic system should not be disturbed by Western ideas of democracy, that the old order of precedence is too sacred to be tampered with ; as a matter of fact, the civil service candidate is generally of the Anglicized class, the son of a business man, lawyer, doctor, or even of a civil servant. Among this class the significance of wealth is much as in England ; the richer man may be merely the more successful in commerce or in a profession. We should not offer civil service posts as prizes for such success, but rather as prizes for the personal merit of the candidates.

For the furtherance of this ideal, our policy is as follows : university education in India should be made to lead up efficiently to the civil service examination, and the number of scholarships from India to England should be increased. The former scheme is not vastly difficult, for though our English universities are the product of centuries of culture, and inimitable in their particular line, yet as cramming schools they are not of phenomenal value ; for the Philistine purpose of passing an examination they may well be equalled, or even surpassed. No doubt this seems a gross way of putting the case, but the opponents of cramming should think twice before raising their chorus of protest. It is true that our unintelligent system of examination is to be deplored, to be reformed with all speed ; certainly it seems a shame to widen the field for vicious methods of education, to stamp them on the yet plastic universities of India. Our duty is to educate the Indian in the noblest sense, to introduce him to our arts and our science, to place before him the fruits of our Western civilization, rather than to strain his memory, and overtax his powers of mental endurance. However much we may be in sympathy with these objections, yet we must look the facts in the face. If we are to

reform Indian education, we must reform the tests for civil service appointments. It would be neither just nor expedient to provide the Indian student with humane and enlightened instruction, and then virtually to exclude him from office; to admit at the end that we have given him the noblest education we can, but that that is quite a poor one in the examination sense. When we consider how many of the students aim eagerly at the civil service, the cruelty and danger of such a position becomes obvious. Of course, any scheme to increase the cramming efficiency of Indian universities would only put things right in part. Still, the selection would have to be among the comparatively wealthy, among those who could afford some weeks in England for the examination itself. To complete the policy of fair selection a complementary scheme is required, and for this reason we have suggested an increase in the number of scholarships from India to England. The scholarships might be divided into two classes; as many as possible providing a complete course of education in England, a number more, of less expense to the Government, merely securing to the holders an opportunity of competing for office.

It will, perhaps, be noticed that the much simpler expedient of holding the examination in India has not been mentioned. Such a course seems at first sight eminently desirable, but difficulties appear on closer examination. In the first place, the Government is not likely to consent to such a scheme—at any rate, in the immediate future; secondly, residence in England is surely useful for men destined to serve under an English Government. This advantage is secured by the holders of residential scholarships, and by those who can afford to come over here on their private resources. If the civil service examination were in future held in India, the residential scholarships would probably be done away with, and private gentlemen would no longer think it necessary to send their sons to England. However, our main point is that the scheme is



unlikely to receive Government sanction for many years to come.

So much for changes in the system of candidature; but when all is said we have only covered the first stages of the problem. It is of little value to give the fairest opportunities to Indian talent, to throw open the doors of office with unstinted generosity, if the position of the officials appointed is to be one of hardship. The grievance here indicated, being mainly social and intangible, is peculiarly hard to tackle, and we must make use of a particular incident in order to give some idea of its nature. It is an universal practice in India, that whenever a public servant of high standing visits a town outside his personal sphere of action, he should be greeted at the station by the Government officials resident in the town, besides the prominent citizens. In the case of an Indian official, this custom was on a certain occasion completely disregarded. An appeal to the ever-sympathetic Viceroy resulted in a commission of enquiry: the commission gathered nothing but a number of plausible excuses, revealing a strange coincidence of "previous engagements" and "unavoidable accidents." This is not a slight matter, though it may appear so at first glance. Our command in India is like all other commands in one particular—namely, that its efficiency is partly dependent on the harmony and mutual courtesy of the governors. Where this breaks down, a real loss of prestige is sure to follow: for internal disagreement of the governing officials is a sure symptom of weakness. In case of such disagreement, the discomforts of the situation are borne by the passive or insulted party: there will no longer exist the understanding that he has the whole force of the service behind him. If disobeyed, he may be made impotent through the hostility of his equals or superiors in command. That such considerations are not imaginary any civil servant will admit; how keenly they are felt is shown by the words of an Indian gentleman very high up in the scale of honour, who declared that he

would find it impossible to continue his official duties if it were not for the personal kindness of Lord Hardinge. How is this state of affairs to be remedied? We cannot reply with any definite schemes, as in the case of the former problem. We can only express a hope that the commission will emphasize the point and suggest some remedy, either in the direction of rigid censorship of the behaviour of all civil servants, perhaps by means of periodic boards of inquiry armed with virtual powers of degradation and expulsion; or in the direction of a more thorough examination for public posts than at present obtains, an examination requiring some knowledge of Indian history, religion, literature, and art, wherein the learning of the Indian languages would not be subordinated to practical purposes, but would aim at a philosophic understanding of the country and its people.

If the commission emphasizes such general conditions as these, it will not have been altogether fruitless. Our great difficulty in handling Indian affairs is not the appeal to men's reason; whatever his politics, no Englishman worthy of the name would support many of the abuses now existing: so much that is unreasonable persists, so many reasonable improvements are not attempted. And yet, any responsible Anglo-Indian will admit that this institution is bad, that that reform might certainly be carried out, that a third scheme is only in lack of an initiator; but somehow the impulse of initiation is strangely faint in India. Whence comes this unprogressive spirit? Its origin is to be found in the deliberate selfishness of the unworthy section of Anglo-Indians, and in the domination which this section has obtained over public opinion. Any efforts at improvement coming from a civil servant, or indeed from anyone else, would be hailed in India as a dangerous innovation, and a great deal of self-confidence and self-sacrifice is required to face the clamour. Hence we are faced with a certain sluggishness and timidity even in the worthier Anglo-Indians, and it is this we must strive to

abolish. Our method should be a vigorous backing of all true reformers, and a visible display of approval from this country, that by such encouragement the discomforts of isolation and unpopularity might be counteracted. May we not hope that the report of the commissioners, or at the worst the report of a minority, will help to strengthen the forces of progress, and breathe courage into the enemies of evil traditions.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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## THE PRESS IN INDIA

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THE history of the Press in India belongs entirely to the British period; but to say this is not the same as to say that journalism had no existence before the rise of the East India Company. The newspaper, or rather the newsletter, was thoroughly established in Asia ages before the appearance of the European trading companies. The *Peking Gazette*, if we may believe the accepted Chinese tradition, has been published continuously for about twelve centuries. We have, naturally, no similar record in the more adventurous annals of India. There the beginnings may be sought in the private or semi-private reports supplied under the great empires to the central government by the provincial administrators and the secret agents maintained in all the districts. The system, as we know, was in force throughout Northern India 300 years before Christ. Megasthenes affirms that the reports were always truthful—one of the various statements made by the invaluable Greek envoy at the Court of Pataliputra which the modern historian prefers to take with a little reserve. The news-writer, whatever his character, was an institution. He kept his place through all the empires of the Middle Age, and his activities were systematically developed under the Moslem monarchs. Their despatches were of two kinds—the *waga*, or confidential letter designed for the private

eyes of the Government, contributed by a staff of official newsmen under the control of the *wagancgar*, or State Intelligencer ; and the *akhbar*, or semi-public gazette, which was handed about among a large number of people and made to serve a variety of purposes. We are told, for example, that the first news of Sivaji's death was carried to the Imperial Court by the newspapers, and in the early years of the Company the English factors in Bengal made use of them to bring their grievances before the notice of the Court at Delhi. It is interesting to find that the manuscript news-letter remained vigorously alive until half a century ago. Macaulay, writing in 1836, noted that a large number went out every day from Delhi, and he expressed the view that they were often scurrilous far beyond anything appearing in print. Sleeman, during his famous investigation in Oudh in 1849-50, found that the news-letter was an important agency ; and so undoubtedly it remained at least until the close of the Mutiny period.

But these primitive forms of the journalistic craft, though interesting to the British administrator as forerunners of the vernacular papers by which he is sometimes troubled to-day, have little relevance to the subject of this paper. The Press of British India was a curiously late growth. There was no English newspaper in the country until a quarter of a century after the acquisition of Bengal. Some fifteen years after Plassy, William Bolts announced to the inhabitants of Calcutta that the want of a printing press in the city was a great disadvantage, and he offered encouragement to anyone who could manage one. But nothing came of the suggestion, and not long afterwards Mr. Bolts was deported, for reasons of the customary kind—"endeavouring to draw an odium upon the administration, and to promote faction and discontent in the settlement." The credit (if the word be admissible) for founding the pioneer English newspaper belongs to James Augustus Hicky, a printer and member of the Stationers' Company of the City of London, who may have gone out under engagement with

the East India Company. In 1780 he launched the *Bengal Gazette*, "a weekly political and commercial paper, open to all parties, but influenced by none"—a descriptive label almost good enough for the best of journals. Most of us, I imagine, are indebted for what we know of Hicky's *Gazette* to an entertaining chapter in Dr. Busteed's "Echoes from Old Calcutta." There is no complete file in existence, though that in the British Museum is better than the one in the Imperial Library, Calcutta. It was a double sheet, with a good supply of advertisements, the news consisting of contributions from correspondents in Calcutta and the *mofussil*, with extracts from the European mails. Hicky constantly used his own name, and readers of Busteed will remember the reflection given in these astonishingly ribald columns of life in the Lower Provinces under Warren Hastings. Prominent members of the European community were mercilessly ridiculed by Hicky. Hastings and Impey he abused with a malignity that knew no bounds, and—a point that indicated a certain shrewdness in his judgment of character—the attack upon the Governor-General was frequently delivered through his wife. ("Pay your constant devoirs to Marian Allypore," etc.) Few editors can have surpassed Hicky in scurrility, but he was certainly not indiscriminating. He left Sir Philip Francis alone, but Busteed is mistaken in saying that he made no mention of the duel between Hastings and Francis in August, 1780. The career of the *Bengal Gazette* was brief. It had not been running many months when the Government forbade its transmission through the post. This crippled the circulation outside Calcutta, and the proprietor supplied the outlying places by a service of peons. In 1781 Hicky was in custody, unable to furnish the enormous bail fixed by the Supreme Court on his prosecution for libel by Warren Hastings. He spent many months in the indescribable common gaol of Calcutta, contriving somehow to edit the *Gazette* from his cell. But Hicky's day was done. In the last years of the century he was living in Calcutta,

miserably poor, sending begging letters to Hastings in England, with what result does not appear.

Hicky was, it must be admitted, an unpromising pioneer. His paper had a rival almost from the start in the *India Gazette*, and before the end of the decade there were half a dozen journals published in Calcutta, all in English; the first vernacular organ did not come until 1816.\* The first newspaper in Western India (the *Bombay Herald*) was founded in 1789; in 1791 came the *Bombay Gazette* (not, however, the paper which ceased publication in 1914), and in the following year the two were amalgamated. Indian journalism in those days was a perilous occupation, and summary embarkation for Europe the punishment for a minor misdemeanour, such as the writing of a paragraph deemed offensive, or of a letter to the editor. There was, however, no general control of the Press until 1799, when the Marquis Wellesley took the newspapers in hand. Writing from Fort St. George to the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Alured Clarke, who was acting for him in Calcutta, the Governor-General said: "I shall take an early opportunity of transmitting rules for the conduct of the whole tribe of editors. In the meantime, if you cannot tranquillize this or other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their papers by force and send their persons to England." His regulations provided that none should be published until it had undergone inspection by the Secretary to Government or his deputy, the penalty for neglect of the rule being instant deportation. Wellesley's regulations were approved by the Court of Directors (Leadenhall Street was to the end hostile to a free Press in India), but they were held up by Dundas at the Board of Control. Wellesley, in the dispatch accompanying the regulations, roundly condemned the journals of the day: "Useless to

\* For most of the material used in this historical summary, I am indebted to the valuable collection of documents brought together by Mr. S. C. Sanial in the *Calcutta Review*, 1907-1912. The Government of India has recently made a grant of £500 to Mr. Sanial for the publication of his "History of the Press in India."

literature and to the public, and dubiously profitable to speculators, they serve only to maintain, in needy indolence, a few European adventurers, who are found unfit to engage in any creditable method of subsistence." It is worth noting that when years afterwards the Marquis was collecting his dispatches for publication, he left out this one, "the rust of Oriental despotism," having, as J. C. Marshman suggests, "been rubbed off by the friction of constitutional association"—an explanation not altogether supported by the evidence of the extremely interesting Wellesley Papers lately made accessible. Wellesley was one of the most sensitive of rulers, and rebuffs to editors were not uncommon during his term. Apart, however, from personal matters, the Government was anxious, then and afterwards, so long as the British were engaged in hostilities with the "country powers," to prevent the disclosure of naval and military plans—obviously a precaution to be respected.

With the growth of newspapers in the early part of the nineteenth century the Government began, not unnaturally, to give closer attention to the problem of public opinion. New and disturbing factors had entered in. The European schoolmaster and missionary, regularized by the Charter Act of 1813, were at work; and the Government had now to adjust itself, not only to a European population largely antagonistic to the Administration, but to the unknown possibilities of a class of Indians literate in English. In these circumstances it is not surprising that missionary enterprise should have aroused some misgiving on its educational side, especially as embodied in the able triumvirate of Baptists—Carey, Marshman, and Ward. In 1811 the Serampore missionaries had been ordered by Lord Minto's Government to use more caution in their publications, and, in order to avoid compulsory removal to Calcutta, they agreed to submit proofs of their pamphlets before going to press. Under the Marquis of Hastings the control became more stringent. In 1813 new rules were framed, requiring all proof-sheets to be revised by Government.



The Press censorship was part of the duties of John Adam, the Chief Secretary, who for years enjoyed the scourging of newspapers. He struck out, without reason assigned, anything that appeared to him objectionable, and any offence against the regulations was punished in the customary fashion. The licence to reside in India was taken away from editor or printer, and he was forced to quit. Adam met only one foeman worthy of his steel—Dr. James Bryce, of Bombay, a Presbyterian minister, editor and managing proprietor (from 1814) of the *Asiatic Mirror*, the only paper in the western presidency that dared to be independent. Bryce was in perpetual conflict with the censorship, and it was doubtless his constant defiance that provoked Mr. Adam, in 1817, to stretch his power so far as to strike out a critical review of an historical work on the ground that its sarcastic and bantering temper was calculated to provoke irritation! Lord Hastings, however, although he told Dr. Bryce that editing was incompatible with his status as a minister of the Church, was himself inclined to liberty of the Press, and in 1818 he abolished the censorship. It would seem that the determining reason for the step was the Governor-General's discovery that, while he could deport a European editor without difficulty, the law provided no means of expatriating an Indian or Eurasian. He realized that his Council, and still more the Court of Directors, would refuse all proposals for an unrestricted Press. Accordingly the regulations of 1818, which removed the direct censorship, provided that no newspaper should contain any hostile criticism of the Company or its high officers, no discussion tending to create alarm on religious matters, and no private scandal. The change infuriated the authorities of Leadenhall Street, who in an angry reply ordered Lord Hastings to restore the censorship. Their orders, however, were unavailing, for the Board of Control did not forward the dispatch.

The Court of Directors need not have been under any apprehension as to the Indian Government's readiness to

handle a hostile or too independent editor, as the celebrated incident in which James Silk Buckingham figures sufficiently proves. Buckingham was a master mariner who resigned his captaincy of a merchant vessel, with its emoluments of £4,000 a year, rather than take part in the Mauritius slave trade. In 1818, with the backing of many influential admirers in Bengal, he started the *Calcutta Journal* as an entirely independent organ, the editors of the existing papers (nine in number) being at that time directly connected, as Government servants or otherwise, with the Administration. The *Journal* earned large profits from the outset, but its editor soon found himself in conflict with the Government. After a warning, in 1819, the Post Office was instructed to refuse transmission on deferred postage, and Buckingham was weighted with gigantic surcharges. He was forced to give up the names of offending correspondents, and in 1822, after an acquittal in the Supreme Court, John Adam, still the implacable foe of the Press, moved in Council for his deportation. The question of the legality of deportation was elaborately argued in court, and Lord Hastings declined to act. His term, however, was ending, and Adam, as acting Governor-General, got his chance. He gave Buckingham two months' notice to leave India, and the first of the great Anglo-Indian editors relinquished the struggle and returned to England.

Adam took advantage of his victory and of his brief authority as head of the Government. He issued a rule that no paper should be published without a licence. This was strongly resisted. Buckingham appealed against it in the Supreme Court, and the educated Indian community, now for the first time articulate under the leadership of Ram Mohan Roy, petitioned the Governor-General. Both protests were ineffectual. The Directors, not satisfied with Adam's rule, demanded the restoration of the censorship, and complete restriction. The Board of Control appointed a Committee, of which Lord Liverpool and George Canning were members, which decided not to recommend the grant-

ing of any further powers of control. The Directors, therefore, had to be content with supporting Lord Amherst, whose hand was heavy upon the journalists. In 1823 Sandford Arnot, assistant editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, was deported, the responsible editor escaping because, as it was explained, he could not be removed without injury to the interests of the shareholders. Those interests, however, were not regarded as paramount, for shortly afterwards the *Journal* was suppressed for reviving "the discussion of topics which had before been officially prohibited." In 1824 C. J. Fair, editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, who had for some time been troublesome to the authorities, was deported, and during the remainder of Lord Amherst's term the Government was continually in conflict with the Press, increasingly chafing under supervision. Thus in 1825-26 two leading papers in Bengal, the *Hurkaru* and the *Chronicle*, came under censure, and the latter provoked the authorities still further by quoting, after a second warning : "And twice the brindled cat has mewed." Few Governors-General have been more completely convinced of the necessity of newspaper control than Lord Amherst, who, in 1826, prohibited servants of the Company having any connection with the Press, on pain of dismissal. This was the first of a series of orders, spread over more than half a century, touching the liberty of Government servants in respect of journalistic writing or control.

We come now to the ten years during which the battle of the Press was thoroughly fought out, and in large measure won by the advocates of free expression. The disbelief in freedom characteristic of the Governors-General from Wellesley to Amherst was not, it should be pointed out, without strong support from administrators of known liberal proclivities. For example : Sir Thomas Munro, the honoured Governor of Madras, argued, in 1822, that the progress of India under British rule was possible only with a restricted Press. He apprehended that the danger in future would come, not from the people, but from the

Native Army; and he expressed the opinion—curiously significant in the retrospect—that the establishment of a free Press “would mean an end of the high opinion maintained of us by the people.” Munro, it will be observed, was concerned with the effect upon the Indian population. Sir John Malcolm, who discussed the question in 1823, had his eye rather upon the European community. He wrote

“The English part of the population is perhaps as respectable a community as any in the universe; but they are not a body of men that any Englishman would designate as a public.”

The great majority, that is, were civil and military servants, privileged merchants, free traders, missionaries, editors, shopkeepers, and so forth! Mountstuart Elphinstone, also, was in favour of control. In 1827, as Governor of Bombay, he made a regulation restricting the establishment of printing presses and the circulation of books and newspapers.

But the tide was by this time setting in favour of liberty. Lord William Bentinck was the first Governor-General to welcome the criticism of Government policy and measures. Instead of terrorizing the English newspapers, Bentinck enlisted their support by a generous supply of official information, and—what is much more remarkable—he encouraged Government servants to discuss public affairs in the Press. The result was a remarkable freedom of debate, which, in regard to two hotly contested questions, went beyond the limit set by the most liberal of Governors-General. The controversy over *Sati*, abolished in 1829, gave a great impetus to native journalism; and Bentinck's stroke of economy—the cutting down, under orders from home, of the regimental allowance (*Batta*)—aroused a furious outcry, which to some extent shook the Governor-General's faith. He wrote in a minute:

“I retain my former opinion that the liberty of the Press is a most useful engine in promoting the good

administration of the country, and in some respects supplies the lamentable imperfection of control which, from local position, extensive territory, and other causes, the Supreme Council cannot adequately exercise."

But he held that, as an indispensable protection, the Government should retain the power of suspending a newspaper. Bentinck, we cannot doubt, went as far as any head of a Government would have gone in 1830; but there was one member of his Council prepared to follow the principle of liberty to its logical end. Sir Charles Metcalfe insisted that there was "no symptom of danger from the freedom of the Press in the hands of either Europeans or Natives." He believed that even the licence of the Half-Batta quarrel had been attended with good results:

"I think" (he wrote) "on the present occasion that it will be infinitely better to allow anything to be said that can be said, than to furnish a new source of discontent by crushing the expression of public opinion."

That, by-the-by, is still the chief argument upon which the case for a free Press ultimately rests. Five years later the citizens of Calcutta petitioned Metcalfe, then acting Governor-General, for the repeal of Adam's oppressive regulation, which was still nominally in force. Metcalfe was eager to comply, and his Council was converted. The Act which freed the Indian Press from restrictions already fallen into desuetude was drafted by Macaulay, the Law Member, who in his minute of May 16, 1835, stated the essential point:

"The question before us is not whether the Press shall be free, but whether, being free, it shall be called free. It is surely mere madness in a Government to make itself unpopular for nothing; to be indulgent, and yet to disguise its indulgence under such forms as bring on it the reproach of tyranny."

Macaulay himself had need of all his liberal philosophy, for the Black Act made him the target of an unmuzzled Press. No prominent Englishman in India was more ferociously attacked. He disdained to seek redress, but took care to put the Calcutta papers out of the way of his sister in the pleasant Chowringhee house, which was afterwards the home of the Bengal Club. The Act of 1835 repealed four restrictive regulations, and left the conductors of newspapers unfettered, save for a declaration of responsibility required from the printer and publisher.

So far, it is important to note, the action of the Government had taken no cognisance of any distinction between the European newspapers and those owned and edited by Indians. To the Court of Directors and the Government in India it was the Press as such that had hitherto been treated as the enemy. The organs of Indian opinion were few and feeble, with negligible circulations, so that the only opposition that the Government had reason to fear came from the European Press. But in the discussions on the Metcalfe-Macaulay Act there are premonitions of the later problem. Two members of Council, in minutes of dissent, called attention to them. H. T. Prinsep remarked that the Native Press was at present nothing, but judging by the first effects of Western education, it was likely to develop into hostility; while Colonel Morison advised that it should be watched by a responsible officer of Government, and urged that a clause should be added to the Bill giving Government the power of instant suppression. Both proposals were negatived. Sir Charles Metcalfe thought they ought to be careful not to make invidious distinctions, and he was persuaded that no restraint beyond that of the ordinary law should be imposed upon either section of the Press. The Directors were, as always, immovable, and they would have repealed the Act straightway had it not been that "such action might be productive of mischievous results."

Then followed rather more than twenty years of a prac-

tically unfettered Press before Lord Canning, at the height of the Mutiny terror, found himself driven, with the unanimous support of his Council, to place all newspapers under strict control for twelve months. Act XV. of 1857 made official sanction and licence necessary for all publications, and gave the Government full powers of prohibition, forfeiture, and suppression. Newspapers were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to impugn the motives or designs of Government, to excite disaffection or resistance to orders, to create alarm or suspicion as to alleged interference with religion, or print anything calculated to weaken the friendliness of the Indian Princes. The tempest which assailed Lord Canning in the dark days of 1857-58 is now, happily, nothing more than a shadowy memory, and no useful purpose would be served by dwelling upon the circumstances attending the Gagging Act. It was proposed with extreme reluctance ; it was an emergency measure of brief duration, and as such did not permanently affect the settled policy of the Government in respect of the Press.

When the Government of India passed, in November, 1858, from the East India Company to the Crown, freedom of expression in speech and writing was practically established, and the first Governors-General under the Crown, preoccupied with the work of consolidation and appeasement, were not men with any disposition to revive the old antagonism between Government and Press. The growth of newspapers was now extraordinarily rapid, especially on the Indian side. The new universities were turning out thousands of graduates with a command of the English tongue ; political and social questions were discussed with ever-increasing eagerness, and in the more advanced provinces the educated Indian showed a remarkable talent for journalistic writing. It is hardly to be wondered at that the privilege of free debate, granted to a community in a stage of perilous transition, should have been abused ; and as a result we find the Government, in the years following the transfer to the Crown, being

constantly brought up against the problem of the Indian Press. (After 1857 no person in authority dreamed of Government control of European newspapers.) Sir Bartle Frere, when Commissioner in Sind, had suggested that the vernacular papers should be read by a responsible officer—a proposal criticized by Lord Elphinstone as insufficient. This became, nevertheless, the recognized method of keeping watch over that section of the Press which had the most influence over the masses, and, as a matter of fact, the system evolved by the Secretariats came in time to furnish the vernacular journalists with a greatly extended opportunity. Sir George Campbell, who as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, by reason of his personal oddities provided the Indian journals with an inexhaustible theme for satire, pointed out that the Government had enormously increased their publicity and importance by its system of translating, printing, and circulating regular abstracts of their articles. Indeed, he added, "many things are avowedly written in the native papers for the Government translator." Year by year, accordingly, the Government was faced with two questions of policy: Should unfettered liberty be continued to the Indian Press? If not, should restrictions be imposed by special legislation, or by prosecutions under the ordinary law?

It is clear from the official papers of the generation following the Mutiny that these questions were harassing in the extreme to every administrator called upon to consider them. The first step taken was the amendment of the Penal Code by the insertion of the celebrated Section 124*a*. Sir Barnes Peacock and the other revisers of the Code in 1860 had omitted Macaulay's sedition clause, Lord Canning considering it a direct attack upon the liberty of the Press. Ten years later, Sir Fitzjames Stephen's amended form of the clause was accepted by Lord Mayo's Government, and thenceforward anyone attempting to excite disaffection was liable to fine, imprisonment, or even transportation for life. The explana-



tion appended to the clause laid it down that comment made with the intention only of exciting disapprobation of Government policy did not come within the scope of the section. During Lord Northbrook's term of office the Government was deeply concerned with the question of bringing newspaper comment within reasonable bounds, but every suggestion for coercive action was shelved. Sir George Campbell, in particular, gave his mind—a very energetic mind—to the difficulty. Prosecutions, he thought, would in many cases only make the Government ridiculous. The notoriety of a big trial was a positive evil. When the Government of India suggested that Government officers might use their personal influence upon editors, Sir George Campbell begged leave to disclaim the power on behalf of his subordinates. They could only influence by threatening prosecutions. He quoted Mr. C. T. Buckland as follows :

“No article, no letter, no paragraph containing any personal comments, ought to be allowed to appear in a native paper, except under the name and signature of the writer, for which the proprietor should be made responsible in his property and person”—

an admirable principle, applicable to all papers in all countries: provided, a British journalist would add, the law of libel were reformed to make such publicity and responsibility possible. In 1875, consequent upon the appearance, in a well-known Bengali paper, of articles denouncing the Government for the trial and deposition of the Gaekwar Mulhar Rao, the question was reviewed by the Secretary of State, Lord Salisbury, who was disposed to urge prosecution. The reply from Lord Northbrook was—

“Our conclusion is that, in the present state of the law, it is not desirable for the Government to prosecute except in the case of systematic attempts to excite hostility against the Government.”

The matter was so difficult and so important that the Government of India proposed to take another opportunity

of expressing their views ; but Lord Northbrook went out before the occasion arose, and Lord Lytton, who at least had the courage of his Toryism, addressed himself to the task which one administrator after another had wished to escape. Action, however, was still delayed, for Mr. Arthur (afterwards Lord) Hobhouse, the Law Member, was altogether opposed to differential legislation against the Indian Press. In a forcible note (August, 1876) he confessed his "almost invincible repugnance to stir," pointed out the grave objections against summary procedure, and disclosed his belief that the making a distinction between English and Indian papers could not possibly stand the brunt of discussion. He was persuaded that, in the fury of their attacks upon the administration, the English papers were sometimes actually worse than the Indian, and in regard to outbreaks of what was called "the strife of classes"—e.g., the clamour of the Indian Press against the preferential treatment of Europeans in the criminal courts—the Law Member said :

"We must bear in mind that to a great extent the Natives are right and are only contending for the same objects with our own Government."

This view was shared by the Duke of Buckingham, Governor of Madras, who reminded Lord Lytton that the chief offensiveness of the Native Press "consisted in its statement of unpalatable truths in strong language." The Viceroy, in a minute, admitted that the real crux was the drawing of this particular distinction ; but he affirmed that it was a real distinction and one that it was necessary to act upon. At the instance of Sir Ashley Eden, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal—who in a semi-official letter to the Government of India said, "I do not believe any country in the world would have stood such writing as we have allowed for the last ten years"—Lord Lytton's Council in 1878 passed a measure "for the better control of Publications in Oriental Languages," more familiarly known

as the Vernacular Press Act. It introduced the principle of taking security from proprietors of vernacular presses, and was in some respects modelled on the Coercion Act enforced in Ireland. The Bill was, of course, fought persistently by the entire Indian, as distinct from the Anglo-Indian, Press; and it was made the subject of a memorable debate in the India Council, Lord Cranbrook being Secretary of State. There were three dissentient members of Council—Sir Erskine Perry, Sir William Muir, and Colonel Yule. Their minutes make remarkably good reading to-day. To us it seems strange that Lord Lytton and his ministers should have discriminated, not only between European and Indian, but between Indo-English and vernacular papers; and this particular weakness became instantly patent, for on the morrow of the Act's appearance on the Statute Book the most subtle and ingeniously exasperating of Bengali organs, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, transformed itself between two issues from a bilingual to an English journal, and thus slipped, with derisive chuckles, out of the grasp of Sir Ashley Eden. The Vernacular Press Act was repealed four years later by Lord Ripon, and, save for one critical interlude, the law relating to the Indian Press remained without alteration for thirty years. The exception was the stiffening of the sedition clauses of the Penal Code by Lord Elgin's Government in 1897, as a result of the disturbances which followed the outbreak of plague in Bombay and Poona.

One other expedient of Lord Lytton's term deserves a word in passing—the establishment of a Press Commissionership with Sir Roper Lethbridge as the first incumbent. By the seventies of last century—as Mr. Robert Knight of the *Statesman* pointed out in a weighty letter to Lord Lytton—the Government had abandoned its former practice of encouraging civil servants to write for the newspapers, and as a consequence the relations between Government and the Press were anything but cordial. Official news was given out with reluctance, and while the papers

in general were, as the first Press Commissioner said, dependent upon what could be picked up at social gatherings, the *Pioneer* had, at great expense, built up a private connection with the several public departments. The disadvantages of this system, or lack of system, were obvious enough. The Press in India, Mr. Knight explained, in the letter just cited, occupied of necessity a position not dissimilar from that of "Her Majesty's Opposition," and "whether that Opposition shall be well-informed and loyal, or the reverse, depends wholly upon the relations established therewith by the Government." The remedy for the unsatisfactory relations then existing, Mr. Knight urged, was equality of treatment in the matter of official news, generous recognition of the whole Press, and, to that end, the establishment of a Government Press Bureau under a responsible and thoroughly equipped officer. The scheme thus outlined was elaborated for the Government by Sir William Hunter, and adopted experimentally by Lord Lytton. The Press Commissioner was entrusted with the giving out of official intelligence and the supervision of the Vernacular Press under the Act. The experiment was welcomed, and for a time it had a fair measure of success. Mr. C. E. Buckland, who had a brief term as acting Commissioner, enjoyed some exhilarating experiences, notably a sharp little encounter with the *Statesman*. But the Press Commissionership came to be filled by a subordinate Secretariat officer, and was abolished. The Government Press Room, revived ten years ago, may be reckoned its negligible offspring.

It is not, perhaps, surprising that the consciousness of a seemingly incurable antagonism between the Government on one side, and the Indian and commercial British public on the other, should have kept alive the notion of a Government organ. The initial suggestion came, I believe, from a member of Wellesley's Government in 1801. It was for a Government press, gazette, and newspaper, and it was vetoed on the ground of expense. The proposal

was revived in the time of Lord Auckland, who could not be persuaded that there existed in the country, outside the official world, a public to support a Government organ, which would have to be "dull and true." The strongest of all advocates of the plan was James Wilson, the Minister who reconstructed the financial administration under Lord Canning. He thought it an essential adjunct to the Government of India, but failed to carry his colleagues further than the printing of certain State Papers at the end of the official *Gazettes*. A committee appointed by Lord Lawrence's Government in 1866 discussed it seriously, but the proposal on that occasion did not survive the opposition of Sir Henry Durand, who argued that it would foster a permanent hostility between the Government and the Press in general. Two years later Sir William Hunter prepared a scheme at the request of Sir Bartle Frere, then a member of Council. He urged the founding of a weekly paper, with one of the Secretaries to Government as editor, the literary organization to be that of a journal of the first class. While Hunter's project was under consideration, Sir Henry Maine opened negotiations with Dr. George Smith, with a view to taking over the *Friend of India* as a Government organ. Dr. Smith's letter in reply was a crushing exposure of the weakness of the scheme, which thereupon appears to have vanished from the file of Secretariat projects regarded as practicable. The idea, nevertheless, re-emerges in one shape or another at intervals; and I remember that about a dozen years ago it found an advocate in the late William Digby. The Government has, of course, made experiments in non-political journalism, the latest and perhaps most promising, being the *Blue Book Quarterly*, an abstract of official publications just started by the Government of Bombay—an admirable idea, the execution of which is long overdue.

To the student who surveys the history of the Press in India during the century and a half of its existence, it will seem beyond question that the most noteworthy period is

that which lies between the liberating Act of Sir Charles Metcalfe and the restrictive Act of Lord Lytton. Journalism in those forty years underwent a remarkable expansion, and provided a career for many men of striking and original gifts. A chronicle of these—from Marshman, Meredith Townsend, and George Smith of the *Friend of India* to the vigorous fighters of the 'seventies—would be full of personal and literary and social interest, but it is obviously outside the range of this paper. Room, however, must be made for a few notes on the makers of what may be called the main stream of journalistic development.

If we except the Serampore group associated with the *Friend of India*, the men who counted for most in the making of the modern Press belonged to Bombay. John Cannon, who conducted the *Bombay Gazette* in the middle of the last century, was said by a high authority to have been the first man in India to introduce careful editing and to discuss important matters of policy. He had a rival in Dr. George Buist, editor of the *Bombay Times* during the years immediately preceding the Mutiny. Buist was succeeded by Robert Knight (who renamed the paper the *Times of India*), while from 1864 to 1880 the *Bombay Gazette* was generally under the direction of J. M. Maclean. For a few years previous to 1864 Maclean had conducted the *Bombay Saturday Review*, and had the good fortune to number among his contributors Sir George Birdwood, Sir Raymond West, and several other accomplished public servants. The rivalry of Robert Knight and J. M. Maclean gave Bombay the unchallenged lead in the country. Of the two Robert Knight was incomparably the more distinguished personality, and for him the claim may justly be made that he was the ablest Englishman who has so far devoted himself to the career of journalism in India. He was the master of a measured and sonorous style, and commanded a knowledge of Indian administration and economics unequalled by any publicist of his time. When in 1875 he established the *Statesman* of Calcutta (the first

of penny dailies in India), and acquired the *Friend of India*, he carried the additional prestige of having sacrificed an important post under Government for the sake of his independence as a critic of public affairs, and accordingly the influence which he wielded in his later years was unrivalled. He died in 1890, after forty years of incessant labour and sustained devotion to the cause of India. In 1902, when I joined the staff of the paper to which he had given—together with the finest character of independence—a tradition of careful writing and editing, I found the name of Robert Knight a vivid memory in Bengal. And we may count it, I think, a particularly regrettable circumstance that no adequate memorial of his career and achievement has been written.

Broadly speaking, the newspapers of India fall into three classes: (1) the British or Anglo-Indian papers, representing the interests of the European community; (2) the Indo-English papers, owned, and for the most part written, by English-educated Indians; (3) the vernacular journals, an important but, to most Europeans, unknown territory.\*

The total number of newspapers is, of course, very large; but on the whole they have not multiplied during the past three or four decades so rapidly as we might have expected. In 1875 it was estimated that there were in India 478 newspapers, 254 of which made up the vernacular Press, against which Lord Lytton's Act was directed. Returns recently published (see the "Decennial Report on Moral and Material Progress," 1913) show that in 1902-03 the total was 657. In 1907-08, owing to the vigour of the Nationalist movement, the number had risen to 733, the highest on record. It fell in 1910-11 (the year of the Press Act) to 658, and at somewhere near this figure it stands to-day.

A descriptive analysis—even the roughest—of the

\* In the latter part of the paper I have reproduced, with alterations, some paragraphs from an article on the Indian Native Press contributed by me to *Sell's Dictionary of the World's Press*, 1914.

contemporary Indian Press as the journalist knows it might easily fill a volume. I can do no more than indicate a few of its salient characteristics.

First, then, as to the European section. The more important of the Anglo-Indian journals are known all over the world. Several of them are powerful and wealthy; they exercise, deservedly, a wide influence, and often display a high level of ability. Besides the *Statesman*, of which I have already spoken, Calcutta has two other English daily papers of long standing and chequered experience—the *Indian Daily News*, which grew out of the *Bengal Hurkaru*, and was the first English paper to be sold at a halfpenny; and the *Englishman* (offspring of the old *John Bull*), which for many years provided Sir William Hunter with a pulpit, and (even before the terrific days of the Ilbert Bill agitation) had come to be recognized as the chief repository of the unqualified Anglo-Indian tradition. Bombay has a daily of the first rank in the *Times of India*, and within the past few months has lost one of the oldest organs of public opinion in the country—the *Bombay Gazette*, so long associated with the names of J. M. Maclean and Grattan Geary. In the *Bombay Chronicle*, edited since its foundation in 1913 by Mr. B. G. Horniman, Bombay has an extremely vigorous newcomer, already commanding high respect. European journalism in Madras has for a long period been represented mainly by the *Madras Mail*, a paper which manages to combine, in admirable fashion, modern enterprise with something of the form and character of the journals of an earlier day. Then (I am not attempting a catalogue of the principal papers) there is the daily organ *par excellence* of Anglo-Indian society. The *Pioneer* of Allahabad has been, and remains, inimitable. It follows no other paper, in India or out of it, as regards either appearance or make-up. Its character and attitude and ways are known to us all, and definable by none. Its editorials are as often as not uncommonly well written.



It is semi-official, yet capable at times of astonishing displays of candour. Its advertisements are believed to be the daily solace of lonely officers and lonelier memsahibs in remote mofussil and frontier stations. Anglo-India, in short, without the *Pioneer* is unimaginable. In the not far distant city of Lahore it has a dependent relative, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, henceforward to be remembered in literary history as the paper which, for a few surprising years in the middle of the eighties, was daily got to press by the aid of a singular youth whose genius was soon to be recognized—Rudyard Kipling.

We come now to the second group, the Indian-owned papers printed in English, the organs of the educated classes. It is a commonplace that those classes have produced a remarkable amount of journalistic talent—the Hindus and the Parsees that is, for the Muhammadan Press is still only at the beginning. The educated Indian has very often a keen political sense; he is a born controversialist, and he attains in a great many cases a mastery of the English tongue which is worthy of admiration. Hence the Indian newspaper can as a rule command the services of effective editorial writers, who are able to mould opinion, at times to influence the Government, and very frequently to cause acute discomfort to the district officer or head of the province. But they are, almost without exception, much less successful on the news and mechanical sides. Of the dailies, not all find it possible to subscribe to Reuter's cables; the reporting, sub-editing, and proof-reading are extremely defective, and the organization of a regular news service from all the important centres has not yet been seriously attempted. It should, however, in justice be said that some of these criticisms apply also, in varying degrees, to the European papers. Truth to tell, journalism in India is beset with innumerable difficulties, and the wonder is, not that the product should be imperfect, but that it should approach so nearly to a standard of moderate excellence.

No European who wishes to understand as much as may

be permitted to him of the country and people can neglect the study—I should say the sympathetic study—of the indigenous Press. The line of eminent Indian journalists goes back for considerably more than half a century. Each generation has produced a number of men of high capacity and sense of affairs. The political education of Bengal was in no small measure achieved by Hurrish Chunder Mookerjee, of the *Hindu Patriot*; Sambhu Chunder Mookerjee, of *Reis and Rayyat*; and Kristo Das Pal. Similar service was rendered in Madras by the first editors of the *Hindu*, and in Bombay by the founders of the *Parsee Press*. Not a few Indian journalists who first made their mark in the seventies and eighties are still at work, continuing into our rapidly changing epoch the style and methods which they learned under mid-Victorian influences—for example, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, who for forty years has edited the *Bengalee* in Calcutta, and Mr. Moti Lal Ghose, editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which to many a British officer during four decades has seemed the quintessence of the Bengali spirit in its sardonic moods. In general, we may say, the Indian journalists are constant critics of the administration—argumentative or rhetorical, sometimes wielding a satirical style the wit and irony of which sting like fine cords. It is seldom that the Indian papers of older standing fall into violence of tone or expression. The extreme Nationalist writing which provoked the Government into repression came from younger men with different aims.

The English in India have not done much with either the weekly review or the monthly magazine, but both have been developed in a noteworthy degree by Indians themselves. Speaking generally, the eminent Indian journalists of the past generation were not daily leader-writers: their talents and methods were more fitted to the weekly paper. From the days of those who in the first stages of Western education started organs of religious and social reform to the excellent weeklies of to-day, the quality of the

writing has reflected the alertness and variety of the Indian mind. B. M. Malabari's *Indian Spectator*, the *Indian Nation* of N. N. Ghose, the *New India* of Bipin Chandra Pal, the *Mahratta* of Mr. B. G. Tilak, the *Wednesday Review*, the *Indian Social Reformer*—these are a half-dozen out of a score or two, past and present, that might be named, while such papers as the *Comrade* of Delhi, conducted by that able publicist Mr. Mahomed Ali, is typical of the new and vigorous growth of the Moslem Press—hampered, unfortunately, from the beginning by very uneasy relations with the authorities. By no means less illuminating for the student of intellectual and social movements are the monthlies, several of which may be cited as admirable examples of magazine editing. Such are the *Hindustan Review* (Allahabad), conducted with great skill and enterprise by Mr. S. Sinha; the *Indian Review* (Madras), an excellent miscellany belonging to Mr. G. A. Natesan, the pioneer in India of cheap reprints; and the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), which under the direction of Mr. Rāṇananda Chatterjee has made a place for itself as an organ of the best Bengal opinion, with a particular interest in Indian historical research and the activities of the younger school of artists. The magazines are for the most part non-political, but they are not on that account any the less closely related to the main stream of intellectual life. Their contents lists month by month furnish a most striking commentary on the movement of the day, for there is hardly a subject in science, religion, philosophy, literature, or social economy that is not caught in the far-flung net of their editors. And their circle of readers is constantly expanding—an indication, not to be ignored, of the incalculable spiritual forces at work in the India now being shaped.

I cannot pretend to any first-hand knowledge of the third group—the vernacular papers. In certain respects these are by far the most important. They reach a vast public

lying beyond the range of Western influences and still almost unaffected by the gradual changes in the social order. They are apt, accordingly, to be more conservative than the Indo-English papers, although, it is necessary to say many of the more daring and aggressive organs of Nationalism have been printed in the vernacular. As a rule, however, those which have become well established are far removed from ideas of political or social revolution : they represent in the main the standpoint of the orthodox world. They find their way into the small towns and villages, are read by multitudes who have no English, and in consequence the more successful attain a circulation far larger than that of their English competitors. Thus, while the largest figure officially given for an Anglo-Bengali paper in Calcutta is 15,000, the leading vernacular journal of the presidency is believed to circulate fully twice as much. I am told that the style of writing in the vernacular Press is for the most part formal and literary, but the younger organs tend to break away from tradition. One of the wildest Nationalist sheets in Bengal, for example, gained its reputation, as Sir Valentine Chirol has remarked, through the beauty and force of its religious and patriotic appeals ; while the first Bengali evening paper to capture the suffrages of the young disciples of Nationalism achieved its effects by the adoption of a vivid colloquialism.

My space is exhausted, and I must compress into a few sentences the main and governing facts, as the Prime Minister would say, of the situation confronting us to-day. Thirty years had elapsed after Lord Lytton's Act before the Government of India determined upon any further legislation for the control of the Press. During those years, except for a few prosecutions under the sedition clauses of the Penal Code, speech and writing were free—as completely free as in England, immeasurably more free than in Ireland. So long as a writer, or speaker, refrained from the use of words directly inciting to violence, he was at

liberty to say what he chose in the way of attack upon the Government, its policy, or its servants. Now and again there was heard a call, from one quarter or another, for restriction, but one Viceroy after another preferred to govern without arming himself with any powers outside the ordinary law. Even Lord Curzon, who suffered more severely from newspaper denunciation than any ruler of India since Canning, let the journalists have their say. It was the rapid spread of the Nationalist agitation after 1905 that caused the Government to reverse its policy. First, the sedition clauses of the Penal Code were applied. Indian editors and printers made constant appearances in the courts, and were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. The desired result was not achieved. Heavier sentences were inflicted, but still the stream of prison editors continued. The Government then resolved upon securing additional powers. The Act of 1908 empowered the district magistrate to order the confiscation of an offending press. And, finally, the Press Act of 1910 imposed the most stringent form of control by requiring financial security. Under this law the proprietors (Indian, of course, not European) must be prepared to furnish security up to the amount of Rs. 2,000 (£133) in the case of a new paper, or Rs. 5,000 (£333) in the case of a paper already existing. In case of offence the local Government may declare the money forfeit; further security, up to Rs. 10,000 (£666) is then demanded, and in the event of a second forfeiture the paper may be suppressed and the press confiscated. Such is the law at present in force. It has had a restraining, not to say terrifying, effect upon Indian proprietors, editors, and leader-writers, and as a consequence the condition of the Indian Press is to-day extraordinarily, indescribably, different from what it was ten, or five, years ago. The question before us—I think the most urgent and momentous practical question of the hour in India—is this: Is it well for India, and for the British Government in India, that the expression of opinion should remain

sternly controlled as it is under the Act of 1910? Or, in view of the happy, and universally acknowledged, results of the Morley Reform Act and the Royal Visit, should partial freedom—at least the reality of appeal to the High Court—be restored? Or, again, should the older English view prevail once more, and the Indian journalist be permitted, within the limits of the ordinary law, to speak the thought that is in him?

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Wednesday, June 17, 1914, a paper was read by Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, Secretary of the Sociological Society, and formerly of the *Statesman*, Calcutta, entitled, "The Press in India." Sir Arundel Arundel was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., and Lady Wilson, Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., Sir Frank Campbell Gates, K.C.S.I., Sir Sankaran Nair, C.I.E., Mr. T. Stoker, C.S.I., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. G. Wigley, C.I.E., and Mrs. Wigley, Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., Surgeon-General Lyatt, C.B., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Dr. A. D. Pollen, Mirza Abbas 'Ali Baig, Mr. C. H. Payne, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Mrs. Annie Besant, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. Dudley B. Myers, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. I. S. Haji, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Syed Athar Hosain, Mr. H. D. Cornish, Mr. J. R. Chalmers, Dr. Jobson Scott, Mr. E. Long, Mr. Kiran C. Ghose, Mr. Sampuran Singh, Mr. J. H. Row, Mr. and Mrs. J. Macdonald, Mr. C. R. P. Roberts, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. Krishna Sahay, Mrs. Rickmers, Mr. M. S. Masters, Mr. R. P. Misra, Mr. S. R. Dubé, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. W. G. Cameron, Mr. T. J. Fisher, Mr. and Mrs. S. Sinha, Mr. R. N. S. Dormar, Mrs. White, Miss L. Whitworth, Mr. R. Biske, Mrs. Forrest, Mrs. Druce, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Miss Wade, Mr. P. Bose, Miss Beadon, Shaikh M. H. Kidwai, Mrs. S. Hossain, Mrs. and Miss Barker, Mr. G. A. K. Luhani, Mr. W. A. Khan, Mr. W. H. Khan, Mr. J. E. Woolacott, Mr. and Mrs. David Alec Wilson, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, Miss Massey, Miss Annie Smith, Dr. T. Summers, Miss Hughes, Mr. Shah Naimatullah, Mrs. Mulla, Mr. A. Ali Khan, Mr. Syed Jamal Hasan, Mr. John H. Harris, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mr. W. F. Hamilton, Mr. B. B. Varma, Mr. E. R. Bevan, Lieutenant-Colonel A. W. D. Leahy, Mrs. Howes, Miss Greenstide, Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, Colonel Warliker, Mr. K. H. Ramayya, Mr. Muhammad Ishaq, Dr. Clark, Mr. and Mrs. John Oates, Mr. J. E. Cooper, Miss Gertrude Toynbee, Mrs. Haig, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

THE HON. SECRETARY : I am sorry to say Lord Reay has been obliged to hurry away to another important meeting, but I am glad to announce that Sir Arundel Arundel has kindly consented to preside.

THE CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I am extremely sorry that Lord Reay, who is in every possible respect the one Chairman we should have liked to preside over this gathering, has been unable to stay after the Annual Meeting of the Association. The only thing now for me to do is to introduce the lecturer to you. I once had the pleasure of meeting him in India before I left the Service, when he was editor of the *Statesman*. Since he left India he has been on the staff of the *Daily News* and other papers. I have had the pleasure of reading his paper, and it is what I may call an interesting historical resumé of the Press in India. I will now call upon him to read his paper.

The paper was then read.

THE CHAIRMAN : I think you will all agree that we have had what I promised at the beginning—a most interesting paper from Mr. Ratcliffe. The only thing which occurs to me now is to try and forecast what form the discussion shall take. This will be influenced by the concluding part of his remarks, which are not included in the paper.

I think we all agree that it is a most difficult problem we have to solve. In the first place, a great deal depends on the age of the person who offers his criticism. The young man is much more hopeful, and has less fear of the future. Every man as he grows older usually becomes more cautious in what I may call investing in the future.

Again, it is a question to a large extent of nationality. In England we have the development of a free Press which has been going on for centuries, ever since Milton wrote his famous paper on the "Liberty of Unlicensed Printing." We have gradually settled down to this, that, as far as individuals are concerned, it is a question of libel which can be fought out in the Courts, or for the Government to prosecute if there is anything absolutely seditious or illegal, or calculated to lead to mischief by an attack upon religion or decency. So far it has worked fairly well in England. The question as to criticisms on the Government is entirely different in England from what it is in India. In this country we have not only those who attack the Government, but those who defend the Government, and very often they are nearly equal in number. The opposition becomes the normal successor to the Government for the time being. In India, if the Government could be turned out by adverse vote, as in England, there is no one to take its place, therefore the critic is in quite a different position : he has not the restraint of possible responsibility. He has not got the reserve which comes upon him if he feels that his party will have to assume office and carry on the work of the Government. The Government, on the other hand, feel that they must reserve the power in their own hands to preserve the peace of the country. The problem is one of profound difficulty. In this country our sympathies are naturally in favour of liberty, but then comes the difficulty of the fundamental duty of keeping the peace of the country.

In India the free Press is an introduction from the outside, an exotic



which was never known in the old days. We know that the Native States in India retain a very large power of suppressing anything they disapprove of in the way of writings to the Press. It is certainly a matter on which we want the wisest heads to give us their assistance and advice.

The HON. SECRETARY then read the following letter, which had been received from Sir Roper Lethbridge: "I greatly regret that I shall be unable to attend the reading to-morrow of Mr. Ratcliffe's able and interesting paper on 'The Press in India.' For, as I was personally and directly concerned in many of the events referred to by Mr. Ratcliffe, I should much have wished to join in the discussion. I hope that the Hon. Secretary will do me the favour of reading to the meeting one or two remarks I should like to offer on this excellent paper—anything like detailed criticism or amplification I must defer until another opportunity.

"In the late sixties and early seventies of the last century I was a Professor in the Bengal Education Service, and, by special permission of Sir William Grey, the Lieutenant-Governor, and Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, I was allowed to devote my spare time to editing the *Calcutta Review* and writing leading articles for the *Englishman* and the *Friend of India*, and occasionally, also, for the  *Pioneer* and the *Times of India*. It thus came about that when Sir George Campbell and Lord Northbrook, in 1872 and 1873, were consulting with Dr. George Smith, of the *Friend of India*, as to the relations between the Government and the Press, I was invited to join the discussion. Dr. Smith was then contemplating retirement, so it was arranged that on his giving up the *Friend of India* and the post of Calcutta correspondent of the London *Times*, I should be *seconded* in the Bengal Education Service in order to take up these two appointments, and thus provide a link of communication between the Government of India and the English Press, both in India and at home. This was Dr. Smith's idea—and if it had been carried out, and if the work on the Vernacular Press subsequently confided to the Press Commissioner had been added to it, there might never have been a Vernacular Press Act. Dr. Smith had obtained the sanction of the proprietors of the *Times*—at that time the weekly telegram from Calcutta occupied a whole column of the *Times* every Monday morning, and was of immense political importance—and I had arranged to move to Serampore, when Sir George Campbell was suddenly succeeded by Sir Richard Temple, Lord Northbrook by Lord Lytton, and the new régime favoured more drastic measures; for after Lord Northbrook's very necessary deposition of the Gackwar, the Vernacular Press had become distinctly seditious, especially in the Mahratta country. Lord Lytton decided that there should be a special officer of Government, to be called the Press Commissioner, who should openly and avowedly represent the Government with the Press, both English and Vernacular. He was to be the exponent to the whole Press of the inner meaning of the Government policy—a very necessary function at a time when there was no right of interpellation in the Legislative Councils. And he was to be the 'whipping boy' for the Government with the Press—every editor having the right to interview or write to the Press Commissioner, to make complaints, to verify facts, and to obtain an authoritative statement of the

Government's policy. And, incidentally, the Press Commissioner was to have certain restrictive powers over those vernacular editors who chose to misrepresent his facts or his statements of Government policy—powers only to be exercised under the control, and with the formal sanction, *first* of the Local Government, and *secondly*, of the Government of India. Nothing could be fairer than this.

"I think that Lord Lytton's plan was better than Sir George Campbell's in that it was perfectly open and above-board. The Press Commissionership itself, with its duties of reference and instruction, was immensely popular with the whole Vernacular Press—as was shown by the fact that when, in 1881, its abolition was decreed by Lord Ripon, as if it were a necessary consequent of the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, a petition for its retention, that was organized by Raja Kristodas Pal of the *Hindoo Patriot* and Babu Narendro Nath Sen of the *Indian Mirror*, was signed and warmly supported by every vernacular editor throughout India except three! I still possess a copy of that petition with all its signatures, which I highly value as a certificate of good conduct! I may add that Mr. Ratcliffe is wrong in supposing that Mr. C. L. Buckland succeeded me as Press Commissioner.\* I wish he had, as I feel sure that his tact and ability would have obtained for the office a longer life—he only acted for me while I was on furlough, and when I was touring through the European and African provinces of the Ottoman Empire, under Lord Lytton's orders, to establish friendly relations between the Arabic Press of those countries and that of India.

"With regard to the Vernacular Press Act of 1878, the mistake made by Lord Lytton's Government, as I think—and in that mistake they have been followed by all their successors—was in laying too much stress on the punitive powers conferred on the Press Commissioner. During the whole term of the Press Commissionership I never once had occasion to put those punitive powers into force! Only once did I even reach the penultimate stage, that of a warning of punitive action! In all other cases of difficulty full and frank sympathetic discussion between the editor and myself resulted in an amicable arrangement that was never broken. And when I retired from the Press Commissionership, and the office was unhappily abolished, there was not a single vernacular paper in all India that could be called obstinately seditious!—though naturally, after that great mistake on the part of Lord Ripon's Government, they soon sprang up again like mushrooms. The poor little substitutes of a Government Press Room—with the added insult to vernacular editors of referring them for information to some subordinate Secretariat officer—were worse than useless. What Lord Lytton's Government ought to have done in 1878 was to pass a measure, not 'for the better control,' but 'for the better information and guidance' of publications in Oriental languages—creating and endowing the Press Commissionership, (a most popular measure), setting out the rights and privileges conferred on vernacular editors in connection therewith, and only noting in brief and non-irritating clauses the correctional power that the Press Commissioner would possess

\* Mr. Ratcliffe has since corrected this slight error in his paper.

in the rare case of the abuse of those rights and privileges. As it was, the Press Commissioner was never given a fair chance—at home he was denounced in an ignorant House of Commons as a ‘Russian Censor’—and no sooner had the whole Indian Press learnt to know the beneficent nature of his operations, than Lord Ripon came out pledged beforehand to abolish the office when repealing the Vernacular Press Act, and bitterly regretted it when too late.

“With regard to the English Press of India as affected by the Press Commissionership, I cannot attempt to deal with the subject in this note—I have an immense number of letters from the late Mr. Robert Knight (of the *Indian Agriculturist*, and subsequently of the *Statesman* which he founded at this time), the late Mr. William Digby (of the *Madras Times*), and the late Mr. James Maclean (of the *Bombay Gazette*), which I have long intended to publish in order to elucidate this subject. The great difficulty was, of course, as Mr. Ratcliffe indicates, the serious injury done to the *Pioneer*. My old friend, Sir George Allen, had spent enormous sums in building up that great paper, and paid most princely fees to large numbers of highly placed officials as contributors in every Simla Department—with the consequence that every impending official change of every sort and kind was for a long time always announced first in the *Pioneer*. Every official in India was interested in these announcements, which I suppose were worth to the *Pioneer* and its highly paid contributors many tens of thousands of pounds annually. Naturally enough, not only Sir George himself, but also many of his contributors, were indignant at the prospect of losing this favoured position—and this was a great difficulty that had to be faced by those who favoured a more diffused system of information.

“ROPER LEITHBRIDGE.”

“June 16, 1914.”

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD said they were under the greatest obligation to Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe for the lecture with which he had so kindly favoured them. It was a most ably drafted document, and would prove of permanent value as a readily accessible store of far and wide gathered informations on a most interesting and suggestive subject much of the earlier history of which survived only in the traditions of a few men who, like myself, must soon cease to live to any of the more serious purposes of their latter-day contemporaries. The point made by Mr. Ratcliffe that pleased me most was his clear demonstration of the fact that the vehemence of invective and the violence of vituperation, which too often defamed the character and stultified the influence of the Vernacular Press of India is of the direct foreign infection of the earlier English Press of India. I do not say that the native Indian journalists have not afforded “a congenial culture” for such “poisoning”—to use the language of bacteriologists—for the spiritual minded Bengalis are, by reason of their highly psychical temperament, very apt to pass, in the turn of a tide, from over-civility to over-violence; and—as in the illuminating instances of Lord Lytton and Lord Curzon of Kedleston—to regard the God of yesterday as the Devil of to day; but the hard historical proofs remain that it was we our-

selves who set the native journalists of Bengal, and the native journalists over all India, the despicable and self-destructive example of a "bad Press" for the British *Raj*—ever, on the paltriest provocations, but too apt to raise its most vixenish of voices against the Government. Mr. Ratcliffe has shown his characteristic subtlety of insight, and certitude of intellectual discrimination, in keeping this fact in view throughout his lecture; and it should never be lost sight of by our stay-at-home English critics of the Indian Vernacular Press. But it would be happier all round if the latter ceased henceforth from ever placing itself in need of an English apologist for its childish indiscretions before an English audience.

I would ask Mr. Ratcliffe to add to what he says on the origin of newspapers in China, that the *King-pau*, literally "Capital-sheet," known as the *Pekin Gazette*, began to appear, at first irregularly, A.D. 911, just 1,023 years ago; and regularly every week A.D. 1315—exactly 999 years ago; and that at present it appears in three editions—the morning edition [*Hsing-pau*, or "Business-sheet"] of yellow paper, giving the commercial and industrial news of the previous week; the midday edition [*Shuen-pau*, or "Official-sheet"], also of yellow paper, giving the "Orders in Council," the Court Circular, and other official news; and the afternoon edition [*Tilou-pau*, "The Country sheet"] of red paper, giving all the general news of the week, for the edification of "country cousins"; and in all its editions it is edited by a "Council" of six "Members of the Academy of Science." Between the Savage and the Athenæum Clubs, our best London papers have hitherto been edited in a closely analogous manner; but to-day, alas! and more and more every day, at the tables of the money-changers and the seats of them that buy and sell advertisements.

I am very grateful for the full account Mr. Ratcliffe has given of the origins of the Newspaper Press of Bengal. He has not named my old friend Joachim Hayward Stoequeler, founder of *John Bull*, afterwards *The Englishman*, the author of "Fifteen Months' Pilgrimage through Untrodden Tracts in Kurdistan and Persia," 1831-32, and one of the contributors to, and the editor of, "The Anglo-Hindustani Handbook," 1851, placed in my hands when I went out to India in 1854 by Captain William J. Eastwick, who gave me my medical appointment in "the Hon. East India Company's Service," on their Bombay establishment. I knew Stoequeler intimately during the last ten years of his life; and he was one of the three handsomest men I ever saw in my long life, and the most aristocratic-looking, judged by the Greek canons, and the very best of good company under every vicissitude of the adversities that hastened his death. I also came to know Mr. James Silk Buckingham personally while I was a medical student in Edinburgh, and I had long before that known him as a public lecturer and Member of Parliament for Sheffield. I only wish Mr. Ratcliffe had been as full in his information of the Bombay newspapers as of those of Bengal. After all, long before Calcutta—even before Delhi—Bombay is the actual capital of India. Calcutta is huddled away, out of sight, in a chaotic corner of the Bay of Bengal, but Bombay is in the very forefront of India—the magnificent, the enchanting frontispiece of India—and so near to England that its streets seem to be but a continuation of those of London,

and its Gujarati, and Muslim, and Parsi merchant princes, fellow Englishmen. Dr. George Buist, LL.D., was not only one of the ablest and most learned of Anglo-Indian journalists, but a profound student of all the natural sciences, as is sufficiently attested by his papers in the Reports of the British Association, in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*; and in the Transactions of the Geographical Society of Bombay; while his "Catalogue of Books and Papers on Indian History," and things of India in general, is still invaluable as a handbook for the first aid of all Englishmen responsibly connected with Indian affairs. I have during the past forty-four years lent out four copies of it, not one of which has as yet been returned to me. He was almost always "against the Government"—that is, of the East India Company—as was natural in an "Interloper"; but they knew the sterling worth of the man as "a dragon of honesty," and in his old age they, with the redeeming sense of public generosity found in all English officials, appointed him "Superintendent of the Government Press" at Allahabad. After George Buist I must rank Mr. Robert Knight, who, with Mr. Matthias Mull, founded the *Bombay Standard*, and shortly afterwards amalgamated it with the *Bombay Times*. I was a personal friend of both these gentlemen, and on their consulting me I suggested that the amalgamated papers should be named the *Times of India*. They were quite shocked at first by "the cheek" of it, obsessed as they were by the dominating reputation of the *Englishman*, the *Friend of India* and the *Pioneer*. But that was the very reason for my suggestion, and within six months "the cheek" of it was overwhelmingly justified. Among the writers in the *Times of India* beside those named by Mr. Ratcliffe, were Professor J. P. Hughlings, of Elphinstone College, a most cogent and convincing literary and historical controversialist; Sir Alexander Grant, Director of Public Instruction, afterwards Principal of Edinburgh University; Mr. James Taylor, at one time "reader" of novels for Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co., and as such the first to recommend to them for publication the manuscript of "Jane Eyre"; and occasionally, on his own account, Sir Charles Trevelyan. I must also mention Mr. William Walker, a retired sergeant of the Horse Guards—"the Blues," I think—who had mounted guard on William IV., and in Bombay kept a shop for the sale of cheap American carpenters' and gardeners' tools. He wrote the purest English, with great directness and force on minor social subjects, over the signature "Tom Cringle." I positively edited the *Times of India* for a fortnight or three weeks. I usually wrote the "snapshot" article on the current political news from Europe, and on Knight once falling sick of a fever, and asking me to occupy his chair while he was ill, I gladly accepted the invitation, having found it very trying during the fighting then going on in Italy to give full expression to my strong sympathy with the Pope of Rome, owing to Knight's equally marked sympathy with the Garibaldians. In my first article, *ex cathedra*, I wheeled the foreign policy of the paper "right about face," and repeated "the movement" the following week, and, I think, for a third week, when, on the paper being read to Knight, he at once sprang out of his bed in Colaba, and sending for "a buggy" while he dressed, galloped off in it to the Fort, and presently had literally emptied

me out of the editorial chair, and all but literally kicked me downstairs—a very steep, dark flight—into Meadow Street. But he found it impossible to completely ignore my *volte-face*, much more to repudiate it; and as it had cured him of his fever—the completest cure in all my practice of medicine—the final result of the escapade was that Knight and I continued to work on together better friends than ever before. Mr. John Connor, the first editor of the *Bombay Gazette* known to me, was a master of Doric English, as founded on Cobbett; and being gifted with an equally simple and clear and hearty honesty of purpose in life, he, in all he wrote and did, exerted a most salutary influence on the social and commercial and official world of Bombay. He was followed by Mr. James Geddes, a most accomplished professional journalist, who later on became well known in the Press Gallery of the House of Commons. After him came Mr. James Maclean, who had made Manchester too hot for himself on account of his acrimonious declamations against Mr. John Bright. He was the first to introduce into India sound political journalism as distinguished from “board of ship journalism,” as it everywhere was in India before Maclean’s advent. He wrote splendidly at times—articles that read, day after day, as if written by Gibbon. But he too often allowed himself to descend from these fine flights of legitimate denunciation to the lowest levels of infantile and fatuous personal insults, as in holding up an opponent to public ridicule for his Pauline—or Horatian—stature, or his Brahean—or Socratic—nose, unthinkable lapses in literacy in a man of Maclean’s supreme manliness of both body and mind. Only his brother Press-men, who knew the temptations of their calling, could forgive him. Other notable journalists of Western India whose names ought to be embalmed in Mr. Ratchiffe’s paper are those of George Cfaiz, a retired private—or corporal—of the British Army, editor of the *Bombay Telegraph and Courier*; and the Rev. George Bowen, an editor of the *Bombay Guardian*. Both of whom, in their antithetical spheres of duty, well served the public interests of Bombay.

Of all these that I have named, Robert Knight was the first to light the fiery cross of incendiary journalism throughout the Presidency of Bombay, and particularly in the Southern Mahratta Country and the South Concan; where among the Hindu landholders he had at that date an unprecedented weight and vogue, and to whom he was as an incarnate god. But it is at Maclean’s door that the blame—or the fame—must be laid of having aggravated in the vernacular journalists of Western India the natural tendency to opprobrious personalities, inherent in all men of hysterical temperament, to the pitch of Satanic “possession.” The people of India, as was at once observed by Megasthenese in their arts, are strikingly imitative in all their intellectual, and moral, and religious, as well as artistic dilections, and equally assimilative: and when once the vivacious Mahrattas of the Deccan had learned how venomously Dr. Buist might dare to vilify Sir Charles Napier, and how disgracefully Mr. James Maclean might disparage Sir Bartle Frere, it was inevitable that in imitating them they should out-Herod Herod; and to condemn them for so doing is like Satan condemning sin. In brief, whatever of “sin,” in the way of political treason and

personal treachery, and rancorous literary latration to downright rabies, may vitiate the titles and impair the utility of the current issues of the Vernacular Press of India, it sprung, fully equipped with every implement of public and private envy, hatred and malevolence from the head of the wilful and turbulent English "Interlopers" of the eighteenth century in India, the tradition of whose implacable opposition to the "monopoly" of the Honourable East India Company continued to inflame the antipathy of the unofficial to the official English in India for nearly a generation after the sequestration—as a consequence of "the Mutiny of 1857"—of the possessions of the Company in India and in Leadenhall Street, to the Imperial Crown (so established from the date of Henry VIII.) of England. A latent cause of the Mutiny of 1857 lay in this secular enmity cherished by the Newspaper Press of the independent English in India toward the Honourable East India Company; and now that the tradition of it is dying out, the free and independent English Press of the country is everywhere seen to be, in every essential point of policy and administration, at one with the responsible Government of India; and, again, it will be found, with the passing of the years, that the Vernacular Press of India will have inevitably fallen into line with the English Press of India, and by 1957 will be all written in English, and right loyally—a perfected "atonement" they both owe to the British-*Raj* in India! My only misgiving arises from the reckless way in which the Parliamentary Opposition in Westminster—alike Liberal and Conservative—persists in treating "Indian Questions" as a means for damaging the character of the Government of the day; thus reducing India to a mere pawn in our bewildering system of Party government, and imperilling her rapidly increasing material prosperity, and indefinitely procrastinating her political regeneration—the final goal of England's duty as the paramount power in India.

I cannot approve of any suppression of the independence of the native Indian Press short of incitement to crime and sedition and rebellion. We find within our own selves that the repression of resentment against individuals, momentarily objectionable to us, intensifies it: whereas giving way to it in certain blessed "curse words and swears," however vulgar—*i.e.*, natural—at once assuages it. Even when an injury has been done us, and we turn instinctively to one of the comminatory Psalms of David, we find, when we have got half through it, that we have forgiven our worst enemy, and before we reach the end of it that we are laughing at our silly selves. So it is with a "bad Press," which is the blowing-off of steam before it gets superheated; and, between the Vernacular Press and the Government of India, it has over and over again acted as a veritable safety-valve. Its native Indian readers thoroughly understand its inflated philippics—all in the end to the greater glory of the British-*Raj*! It was the rabulate raging of the Liberals against him that made Disraeli; and it is the frenzied fury of the Conservatives that has made Mr. Lloyd George the great personage and greater personality he is to-day. A difference should be observed with the Anglo-Indian Press, the rancorous onslaughts of which, in times past, on the Government, were a blackening by ourselves of our own faces, and were taken therefore by its native Indian readers as gospel truth—always with

disagreeable, and occasionally with disastrous, results. Of the disagreeable consequences, the two most profitable "for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," are the instances of the quarrel of the native Indian Press with Lord Lytton and Lord Curzon of Kedleston. They both went out to India determined to give the fullest effect to the supererogatory advices injudiciously pressed on them to see well to it that the natives of India suffered no injustice at the hands of the English officials of the Government and other English people in India. But directly the Anglo-Indian Press turned on Lord Lytton in "the Fuller case," the native Indian Press followed suit, and with enduring vengefulness. A similar fate befell Lord Curzon of Kedleston. Never had the people of India sounder, stauncher friends than in both these great and brilliant statesmen; but the truth is they both spoke too much, and in defiance of the cardinal rule of public life for every official in India, native or European: "Work hard, and hold your confounded tongue!" It is marvellous what seemingly trifling things will make or mar a man—the greatest man's reputation—in India. The phrase "John-Company" is a corruption of the Indian phrase *Kumpani-Jahan*—that is, "World-wide Company," as applied by the people of India to the extinct East India Company, whose righteous rule so impressed them that the word came at last to be used by them as a synonym for *dhik, niasaf, rasti*—i.e., "justice." But what really from the first won their confidence in, and reverence for the Honourable East India Company, was the fact recorded in my official "Report on the Old Records of the India Office," p. 222 [see also Sir Henry Yale's glorious "Glossary," edited by Mr. William Crooke (John Murray, 1913)], that: "The earliest coins minted by the English in India were of copper, stamped with the figure of an irradiated  *lingam*  [cf. Deus "Radiculus" of Pliny, x. 43 (60), and "Fascinus," xxviii. 4 (7), and "Mutunus" or "Tutunus," and "Priapus"] the Phallic 'Roi-Soleil'—the worship of all India—India of the Hindus. Sir M. E. Grant-Duff tells us the story, in one of his autobiographical volumes, of an Indian gardener, who, on being disturbed in his work by a tiger, at once faced it, and, striking his *luti* into the ground, shouted out to the flaming beast (I quote from memory): This is "*Kumpani Jahan*! Advance another step at your peril!" Whereon the poor, shamefaced creature slunk back and away into its native jungle, *Chelydrom exhausti*!

MR. WOOLACOTT said they were all very grateful to Mr. Ratchiffe for his highly interesting paper. He would confine what he had to say to the latter portion of Mr. Ratchiffe's speech, where he suggested, in regard to the Press in India, that we were sitting on the safety-valve. He had been in India before the Press Act, and since the Press Act was passed, and when he read the leading Bengali papers, which were conducted with considerable ability, and was then told the British rulers of India were sitting on the safety-valve, he would like to know what, in the name of Heaven, those papers wanted to say; because for vigorous criticism of the Government and of the acts of officials there was no lack. He was not in favour of any restriction of the liberty of the Press; as a journalist, and a past-President of the Institute of Journalists, his predilections were all in the



opposite direction. But what we had to face in India was the license of the Press, and it was for the purpose of dealing with this evil that the Press Act was passed. We had to deal not only with journals which criticised administrative Acts in a vigorous manner—sometimes rightly so—but they had to cope with prints which would be a disgrace to any nation. Time after time papers had been placed on his desk containing incitements to the most dastardly crime against Europeans—non-officials as well as officials. Mr. Ratcliffe reminded him very much of an address delivered at one of the Bengal Provincial Congresses, where a gentleman said it was a terrible thing that Bengal was now gagged and bound, and then proceeded to deliver a speech which would have filled nine columns of the *Time* of violent criticism of British administration, and particularly of the police. The question under discussion was a very great and serious question, but let them face the facts. If he had had his papers at hand he could have read extracts from journals published in Calcutta, which would at once have demolished the lecturer's case that there was any gagging of opinion in Bengal. He said emphatically that the leading papers in Bengal published fearlessly criticism of the most vehement character, and, in his opinion, sometimes passed beyond the bounds of fair criticism. They would all remember the virulent attacks on Mr. Weston in the Midnapur case. If opinion had been gagged, those articles would have been quite impossible. While so-called political cases were being heard in the High Court, moreover, running comments on the proceedings appeared in Bengali papers of a character which would never have been tolerated in this country. Rhetoric was excellent, but facts were better, and he ventured to say that, if he had at hand files of leading Indian papers, he could furnish a complete answer to the charge that, under British administration, opinion was stifled in India.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN said that no doubt the object of the Press Act was to stop secret conspiracies and outrages which had resulted from those conspiracies. Speaking for himself, it seemed that in that respect the Press Act, as at present administered, was only doing harm. He believed that the only way of combating the dangerous tendency to such outrages was by producing a better feeling amongst the people, and amongst the younger generation especially. He believed there was no better prescription than that which Lord Morley gave, namely, to "rally the moderates," that in order to produce an atmosphere friendly to good order they should put their confidence in the older and more thoughtful men, who looked to the real future of India, and who themselves considered those unfortunate outrages as the greatest impediment to their aspirations for the future. (Hear, hear.)

He believed that the way to deal with it was to encourage the older men to exercise their influence over the younger generation—the restrictions of the Press Act having caused a break between them and the younger men. The particular defect of the Act which struck one most was the failure of the provision which gave the High Court power to redress particular grievances. With regard to the question of principle, he was quite convinced that, if the younger men, instead of being discouraged

from taking an interest in public affairs, were encouraged to listen to the advice of the older men, then he thought they would begin to produce an atmosphere which would put an end to such things as secret conspiracies. (Hear, hear.)

MR. DAVID ALEC. WILSON said that the little he had to say was indirectly an answer to the challenge put forward a few minutes ago. He wished to refer to a case which was recently before the Courts, where Mr. Channing Arnold was prosecuted for libel, and in connection with which civil proceedings were still pending. What led Mr. Channing Arnold—a most loyal man—to publish the articles for which he was prosecuted was that he was assured on every hand, by English barristers as well as others, that the people in that district had been advised that the Courts would not do justice between a native woman and a European man. Mr. Arnold was filled with indignation, and he flung himself into the breach, and even if he did use strong rhetorical language it was because of honest indignation at injustice and his belief in our Courts. The popular *disbelief* in our Courts which stirred him was attributed by good judges to the recent policy which could only be described as the setting up of a new dogma of official infallibility. He did not believe in it. Did they?

MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA said he wished to express his appreciation of the lecture. Apart from the historical survey, the part which appealed to him most was the concluding portion of the lecturer's observations with regard to the Press Act. This, as they would have seen, was an extremely controversial subject. Mr. Woolacott spoke of his first-hand knowledge, but as a journalist of some standing who had never been prosecuted or even warned, he (Mr. Sinha) thought he might speak with equal authority and also with first hand knowledge. They were passing through very difficult times in India, but on the whole things had certainly improved, and he quite agreed with Mr. Ratcliffe that it was time now for the Press Act to be either repealed or, at any rate, amended, in the matter of giving an effective right of appeal to the High Court from the orders of the Executive. He desired to speak of the Chairman with the greatest respect, but because they were not in a position to take up the work of the Government, for the time being, it did not stand to reason that they should be prevented or debarred from criticizing the measures of the Government. The Government was bound to listen to their opinions, and to give effect to them so far as it might be practicable. The people of England had not yet realized the intensity of feeling which lay behind the Press Act in India which was growing stronger and stronger. He regretted the tone of the speech delivered by Mr. Woolacott which would tend to give the people of this country a very wrong impression of the Press in India. He had seen expressions in papers in England used with reference to His Majesty's Ministers the like of which had never been used in India. The reasons why the Indian people felt so strongly against the Press Act was that although it applied to all papers in theory, in practice its operation was confined to Indian papers alone. In conclusion he hoped that this meeting would do all it could to support the demands of the Indian people for the amendment of the Press Act.

Mr. SYUD HOSSAIN said he was in complete agreement with the previous speakers in regard to the general pleasure derived from the lecture. So far as the historical survey of the Indian Press was concerned there could be no two opinions as to the informative value of Mr. Ratcliffe's address. He would, however, have liked to have seen included a reference to one who had been justly called the "Prince of Indian Journalists"—viz., Dr. Sambhu C. Mookerjee, the editor of *Kris and Rayet*, who combined character and capacity to an extent which would not be easily paralleled even in the English Press; his had been an example of extraordinary power over those who had come after him. They were all deeply interested in the thoughtful remarks offered by Mr. Ratcliffe in regard to the present position of the Press in India; some were even more interested in the remarks, which were of a distinctly misleading character, of Mr. Woolacott. It seemed to him the audience might go away, if left to itself, on the strength of his remarks with a false and even mischievous impression of the actual facts of the case. No responsible person, in India or this country, claimed a licence for the Indian Press—that was not a position taken up by anyone in authority. He believed the consensus of moderate opinion in India was all for the proper suppression by legal and constitutional methods of sedition and incitements to disaffection. It was because it had been sought to stifle legitimate and *bona fide* criticism that the native body of moderate opinion in India had levelled indignant protests against the Press Act; and it was no use Mr. Woolacott saying that because he could make up a selection of purple patches from Indian newspapers, comparable in rhetoric to his own speech, that spelt a justification for the throttling of the Press of India. The question was not one of stray incendiarism in disreputable organs, but the large principle involved in the right of public criticism of public affairs.

Mr. RATCLIFFE, in replying, said he had learned at the close of the lecture that he had transgressed the rules of the Association in adding to the printed paper an expression of his personal view on the policy of the Press Act. He was not aware of the rule, and perhaps the transgression was excused by the discussion which, in all probability, contained more useful points than it would otherwise have done. He had given it as his opinion that the repeal of the Press Act was, in the improved conditions of India, the course dictated alike by policy and justice. He could not disagree with the Chairman's statement that the subject was one of great practical difficulty, but he noted that Sir George Birdwood held to the view which he had expressed so long ago as 1877 in favour of a practically unrestricted Press. His one direct opponent in the discussion had been Mr. Woolacott, who, though he had pleaded for facts instead of rhetoric, had not, in his very effective speech, kept entirely to facts. Mr. Woolacott had said that when he was in Calcutta there frequently reached his table prints of a disgraceful character. That being so, it was evidence that the Act was ineffective for its special purpose. Legislation of this kind did not crush out the worst things, but it tended to obliterate the line that should be kept clear between independent criticism and violent writing. Again, it was said Indian journalists were not fettered. The articles daily appearing

in the Press of Bengal showed that they were permitted to criticize the Government and Government officials with extreme severity. There was no better answer to that contention than the one given by Macaulay in 1835. If the Press were in reality free, the Government should take the credit for it by allowing it to be called free, and not impose upon itself the odium of continuing an Act that was looked upon by educated India as repressive. Finally, Mr. Woolacott challenged debate upon the evidence provided by the files of the Indian papers. That was a fair challenge: but over against the articles which the Government allowed to appear should be put those which had brought down upon Indian editors the rigours of the Press Act, together with a statement of the circumstances attending, in each case, the application of the Act. The lecturer thought that, if this were done, it would prove that, as Sir William Wedderburn contended, the Act, as at present administered, was working to the detriment of good feeling between the Government and the Indian people.

DR. CLARK, in moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his interesting paper, said that, on the whole, he had laid his case as a moderate man. All legislation was more or less tentative, and he felt little doubt that the Act would be modified. Of course, it was possible that public opinion in India might veer round from too much tolerance to perhaps the reverse. The current of opinion here in this country, however, was undoubtedly towards its modification, and that before very long, but he did not think Parliament would go to the length of repealing the Act altogether. (Hear, hear.)

The motion, being seconded by Dr. Pollen, was put to the meeting and carried unanimously, and the proceedings then terminated.

## THE FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council have the honour to report on the working of the Association during the year 1913-14.

Since the beginning of the year seventy-three new Members have been elected. Of these thirty-six were Indians and thirty-seven Europeans. H. H. the Maharaja of Kolhapur, Rai Bahadur Ragho Prasad Narain Singh, and Lord Pentland have become life Members, and two lady Members have joined the Association—viz., Mrs. Flora Sassoon and Miss Wade. It is to be hoped that more ladies interested in India will apply for membership.

The Committee appointed, at the suggestion of Sir Lesley Probyn and Sir Robert Fulton, to consider methods whereby the scope and influence of the Association could be enlarged, came to the conclusion that it was not desirable to change the name of the Association; but advised that the Programme for Lectures of each year should, as far as possible, be drawn up and settled by Council at the beginning of each session; that increased efforts should be made to induce distinguished Administrators and public men connected with India to take part in the proceedings; that Lecturers should be paid; and that enlarged accommodation should be provided both for the Meetings and for the Teas.

These proposals, with certain modifications, were accepted by the Council, and the Literary Committee were authorized to offer payment to Lecturers up to a certain

limit to cover all expenses connected with the preparation of their papers.

A list of Lecturers for the current year has, accordingly, been prepared, and all papers offered or promised are now set forth on the reverse of the invitation cards.

The course of events with regard to the treatment of our Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa has been followed with close attention by the Association, and a paper was drawn up by Sir Roland Wilson entitled "The Case of India v. South Africa from the Point of View of the British Elector" which was accepted by the Literary Committee and approved in Council. But in view of the appointment of the South African Commission, it was deemed advisable in the interests of the people of India that the reading of this paper should be postponed, and the Council sincerely trust that, in accordance with representations which have previously been made from many quarters, and in which this Association has also taken part, this vexed question may now be settled in a manner satisfactory to all concerned.

The most important work performed during the year under report was the publication in book-form of the "Truths about India," compiled by Mr. J. B. Pennington under the authority of the Association. The volume, with a vigorous Foreword by Lord Ampthill, has been well received by the Public and the Press, and has already reached a fourth issue.

The Association has had to deplore the death of one of its Vice-Presidents, the Earl of Minto, and the Council tendered to the Countess of Minto an expression of their sincere sympathy in her heavy bereavement and deep sorrow.

The Hon. Secretary has received the following reply :

*" April 18.*

" DEAR SIR,

" Will you be good enough to convey to the Members of the Council of the East India Association my heart-

felt thanks for their kind resolution of sympathy with me in my grievous loss. I am deeply touched by their kind appreciation of my dear husband's services to the Empire. While Viceroy of India it was his earnest endeavour loyally to promote the interests of her Princes and people, and I am glad that his work is so universally recognized.

"My sorrow is indeed overwhelming, but I am very grateful for the kind expression of condolence received from the Members of the Association, and for their thought of me in my affliction.

"Believe me, yours truly,

"(Signed) M. MIXTO."

The papers read during the year were all of a very high order, and elicited interesting discussions. The meetings were well attended, and it was specially gratifying to the Council to have the pleasure of welcoming Lord Roberts when he took the chair at the reading of Sir Guilford Molesworth's paper on "The Battle of the Gauges in India."

The Proceedings of the Association still continue to be published in the *Asiatic Review* (formerly the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*), now edited by Mr. F. J. P. Richter (a nephew of the late Dr. Leitner, who was associated with the late Sir Lepel Griffin in the inception of the *Review*). The arrangement now made by the proprietor, Mr. Leitner, is that the *Asiatic Review* shall be published every six weeks, and that Members of the Association shall receive eight copies of the *Review* a year instead of four as formerly. The Manager has agreed to supply the Association with 400 copies of each issue of the *Review* and also of the *Journal*, 500 invitation cards, 40 posters and 35 advance copies of each Lecture, for a fixed yearly payment.

As will be seen from the Statement of Accounts, the income of the Association from subscriptions continues steadily to increase. Indeed, but for the extra expenditure

involved in the publication of the "Truths about India" in book-form, the income for the year would have covered the expenditure. The extra expenditure on this valuable work during the year amounted to £59 os. 6d. From this it will be seen that, to ensure and maintain financial stability, it is very necessary to keep a substantial balance in hand to meet unforeseen, as well as current expenditure. Only a large increase in Membership could justify any extension of the expenditure on the legitimate objects and activities of the Association, but it is hoped that this increase will in time be secured, and that the Association will thus be enabled to extend its influence for the good of the people of India generally.

The following papers were read during the year :

*May 22, 1913.*—Wilmot Corfield, Esq. (late Hon. Treasurer, Calcutta Historical Society), "Calcutta : The Premier City." Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D., in the chair.

*June 23, 1913.*—Meherban Narayanrao Babasahib, Chief of Ichalkaranji, "What has Britain done for India?" The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

*July 21, 1913.*—F. O. Oertel, Esq., F.R.I.B.A. (Superintending Engineer, Allahabad), "Indian Architecture and its Suitability for Modern Requirements." Colonel Sir Richard Temple, Bart., C.I.E., in the chair.

*October 27, 1913.*—M. de P. Webb, Esq., C.I.E. (late Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce), "Money Power for India." Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

*November 18, 1913.*—James Drummond Anderson, Esq., I.C.S., retired, "The Vernaculars in Indian Universities." Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., in the chair.

*December 15, 1913.*—Moreton Frewen, Esq., "The Recent Currency Experiments of the Indian Govern-



ment." The Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., in the chair.

*February* 23, 1914.—Colonel Thomas Holbein Hendley, C.I.E., "Art in Rajputana, with Special Relation to Jaipur," illustrated with lantern views. Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D., in the chair.

*March* 10, 1914.—Colonel Sir Thomas H. Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., "The Early Exploitation of India and the Indian Borderlands." General Sir Edmund George Barrow, G.C.B., in the chair.

*April* 6, 1914.—Colonel Sir Richard Temple, Bart., C.I.E., "The Andaman Penal System." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

*April* 20, 1914.—Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E., "The Battle of the Gauges in India." Field-Marshal the Right Hon. the Earl Roberts, K.G., V.C., in the chair.

The following Pamphlets have been issued during the year :

"An Independent Testimony," by Harold Begbie, Esq.

"Some Plain Facts about the Indian Trade Report for 1912-13."

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

1. Khan Sahab Khwajah Mohammud Azam.
2. A. S. M. Anik, Esq.
3. Mohamed Ali, Esq.
4. Hubert Shorrocks Ashton, Esq.
5. The Hon. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar.
6. The Hon. Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali.
7. Baij Nath Badhwar, Esq.
8. Saiyid Husain Bilgrami, Esq., C.S.I.
9. The Hon. Maharaja Sir Bhagwati Prasad Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Maharaja of Balrampur.

10. Herbert Batty, Esq.
11. Raja Ratan Sen Singh, Raja of Bansi.
12. H. Kelway-Bamber, Esq., M.V.O.
13. The Hon. Mr. Mahadev Bhaskar Chaubal, C.S.I.
14. Raja Manmathanath Chowdhury.
15. John Coldstream, Esq.
16. Sir Reginald Henry Craddock, K.C.S.I.
17. Kuvarji Khandubhai Desai, Esq.
18. Alfred Dickinson, Esq.
19. Jivanji Shapoorji Dhunjibhoy, Esq.
20. The Rev. Dr. Downie, D.D.
21. Walter Hill Dawson, Esq.
22. Radhamohono Rajendra Debo, Esq.
23. Mangaldas Vithaldas Desai, Esq.
24. Jamsetji Kavasji Dubash, Esq.
25. N. B. Dalal, Esq.
26. Sir Joseph Bampfylde Fuller, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
27. The Hon. Mr. Tounley Richard Filgate, C.I.E.
28. Moreton Frewen, Esq.
29. General Sir Alfred Gaselee, G.C.B., G.C.I.E.
30. Sander Gutmann, Esq.
31. Raja Kisor Lal Goswami, M.A., B.L.
32. The Hon. Mr. S. Q. Huda.
33. The Hon. Mr. John Mitchell Holms, C.S.I.
34. E. B. Havell, Esq.
35. The Hon. Mr. Maung Hfay.
36. Norman Leslie Hallward, Esq.
37. Duncan Irvine, Esq.
38. Khursedji Sorabjee Jassawalla, Esq.
39. H. H. Sir Shahu Chhatrapati, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,  
G.C.V.O., Maharaja of Kolhapur.
40. Mohamed Kassimoff, Esq.
41. The Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird, F.R.G.S.
42. Mohammed Yamin Khan, Esq.
43. Sir Frederick S. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
44. Henry Staveley Lawrence, Esq.
45. F. D. Mulla, Esq.

46. Reginald Murray, Esq.
47. James McDonald, Esq.
48. Hugh Murray, Esq., C.I.E.
49. Hugh McPherson, Esq.
50. Mark B. F. Major, Esq.
51. The Hon. Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Khan, K.C.I.E.,  
Raja of Muhummudabad.
52. Raja Peary Mohan Mookerjee, C.S.I.
53. D. B. Lal Nanda, Esq.
54. John C. Nicholson, Esq.
55. Narendra Nath, Esq.
56. Lachmi Narayan, Esq., M.R.A.S.
57. Hebbalalu Velpanur Nanjundayya, Esq., C.I.E.
58. George Michael Ryan, Esq.
59. Sir Frederick Alexander Robertson.
60. Charles Arthur Silberrad, Esq.
61. Thomas Stoker, Esq., C.S.I.
62. John Sanders Slater, Esq.
63. Mrs. Flora Sassoon.
64. Alexander Montagu Stowe, Esq.
65. Nirmul Chunder Sen, Esq.
66. Rādhācharan Sāh, Esq.
67. Rao Bahadur Raghunath Vyankaji Sabnis, C.I.E.
68. Rai Bahadur Ragho Prasad Narain Singh.
69. George Frederick Sheppard, Esq., J.P.
70. Rup Kishore Tandam, Esq., M.B. and C.M.  
(Edin.).
71. Frederick George Wigley, Esq., C.I.E.
72. David Alec Wilson, Esq.
73. Miss L. E. Wade.

The following have resigned membership during the year :

Sir John Benton, K.C.I.E.

P. D. Bhiwandiwalla, Esq.

The Hon. Meherban Sardar Rao Bahadur Motilal  
Chunilal.

Lindsay Millais Jopling, Esq.  
T. W. Mansukhain, Esq.  
A. B. Miller, Esq.  
Charles Nissim, Esq.  
Sir William Chichele Plowden, K.C.S.I.  
Sir Leslie Porter, K.C.S.I.  
Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P.  
B. Lewis Rice, Esq., C.I.E.  
Sri Ram, Esq.  
Colonel A. U. S. Wingate.  
Major Clive Wigram, C.S.I., M.V.O.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members:

Sir Apcar Alexander Apcar, K.C.S.I.  
William Henderson Buchan, Esq.  
R. E. Forrest, Esq.  
S. V. Morgan, Esq.  
Charles William McMinn, Esq.  
The Right Hon. the Earl of Minto, G.C.M.G.,  
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.  
Om Prakash, Esq.  
Lala Ganga Ram, Esq.  
Ardeshir Jamsedjee Umrigar, Esq.  
George Digby Wybrow, Esq.  
Lieutenant-Colonel A. T. Wintle, R.A.

The total increase of Members during the year (after deducting deaths and resignations) amounted to forty-eight.

Sir J. D. Rees has, through press of work, found himself obliged to resign Membership of Council; and the following Members retire by rotation:

W. Coldstream, Esq.  
Sir K. G. Gupta, K.C.S.I.  
Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D.  
Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.

These gentlemen are willing, if re-elected, to continue to serve, and it is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Accounts show a balance of £303 6s. 4d. (including cash and postage in hand), as compared with £339 14s. 11d. last year.

## ANNUAL MEETING

THE Forty-Seventh Annual General Meeting of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, June 17, 1914, the Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., President, being in the chair. The following gentlemen were present: Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., Sir Frank Campbell Gates, K.C.S.I., Sir Ralph Benson, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. C. H. Payne, Mr. Dudley B. Myers, Mr. P. Philipowsky, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in proposing the adoption of the Report, which I suppose we may take as read. From the Report you will see that the Committee have come to the conclusion that it is not desirable to rebaptize the Association, therefore we keep our old name. Then they have advised that the programme for lectures of each year should be settled by the Council at the beginning of each session, so that we shall know beforehand the subjects to which our attention will be called at the meetings; and they also recommend that increased efforts be made to introduce distinguished administrators and public men connected with India to take part in the proceedings.

I think I may say that we have been very successful in our lectures, and the meetings have also been very well attended. In future the lecturers who desire it are to be paid their expenses, and enlarged accommodation is to be provided for the meetings and for the teas. A list of lecturers for the current year has been prepared, and all papers promised are now set forth on the reverse of the invitation cards.

Of course, the most important work which has been performed during the year was the publication of "Truths about India," compiled by Mr. J. B. Pennington, and I am sure that I represent your unanimous feeling in offering to Mr. Pennington our congratulations and thanks for the great care he has bestowed on the work.

The next reference in the Report is one to which I wish to allude—namely, the death of the Earl of Minto. He was a personal friend of mine, and he was a neighbour of mine in Scotland, and I am sure that no one

could become acquainted with Lord Minto without realizing the peculiar charm of his character. He was in every sense of the word a noble Scot, and he had all the distinguishing traits of the Scot. He was absolutely simple; he discharged his responsible duties with the utmost self-sacrifice. He was extraordinarily modest, and when he came back I found him just the same man as when he went out. He was a real friend of India, both of Europeans and of Indians of the whole community, and his sole object was the prosperity of India. (Hear, hear.) You are aware that his Viceroyalty was one of extraordinary interest; it was during his Viceroyalty that various reforms were first of all introduced and afterwards carried out, and the success of those reforms was certainly in no slight degree due to his tact in carrying them out. I am sure, in your name to-day, I may pay a respectful tribute to his memory. (Hear, hear.)

You will have noticed in the Report the arrangements with the *Asiatic Review*, and last, but not least, the very satisfactory nature of the statement of accounts. No doubt the income of the Association is always below what it should be, but at the same time we have now got to a point where our income and our expenditure nearly balance, and you will allow me to pay a tribute of gratitude for this result to our indefatigable Secretary, Dr. Pollen (Hear, hear), who, since he has been associated with the Association, has done so much to increase its usefulness and its efficiency.

Now, there are two things to which on this occasion I may call your attention. Probably most of you have visited that extraordinarily interesting collection in the British Museum of Sir Aurel Stein's, which has at last now been properly housed. As you are aware, when the King recently opened the new building, both the King and the Queen paid special attention to these exhibits, which had for so long been stowed away in the cellars of the British Museum, and to those who have seen the admirable way in which the collection of the German expedition in Central Asia is arranged in the Museum at Berlin it was a most humiliating feeling that when German scholars came here and inquired to see this collection of Dr. Stein's it was almost impossible to show it to them.

That collection is, in its entirety, exhibited at the British Museum, but there is an arrangement between the Government of India and the British Museum that part of it ought to go back to Indian museums, as the Indian Government contributed to the expenses of the exploration, and they very naturally claim part of the spoils. I need not point out to you how very unfortunate it would be to split up the collection. Students from all parts of Europe come here to see this collection, and compare it with the Berlin collection, and the splitting up of that collection would be most unfortunate from the point of view of archaeological study. It is quite clear that the scholars and archaeologists who come here cannot all go to India in order to study the complete collection, and therefore we have approached the India Office, pointing out the circumstances, fully admitting the claims of the Government of India, but asking them carefully to inquire into the possibilities of this collection remaining intact, because it is obvious that archaeologists will come here in greater numbers than would go to India to see the collection there. Then there is also the risk that certain items in

the collection might in transit be damaged, and the further risk, as we know, that if they are placed in a museum in India in a damp climate, some of the exhibits which have been so mercifully preserved in Central Asia, owing to the great dryness of the climate, might be damaged. They were all covered with sand, and it is almost a wonder that during all those centuries they have been preserved, and that we should have found them absolutely intact, and it would be deplorable if by exhibiting them in a climate which is not suitable they should be damaged. I hope you agree with what we have done in regard to this matter, which I admit is, to a certain extent, complicated by what I fully admit are the legitimate claims of the Government of India.

Now, another subject, which is of a most gratifying character, is that we may now look forward to the establishment of the School for Oriental Studies. (Hear, hear.) You are aware that the London Institution has been acquired, and I may say the Government have been generous in that direction. We had a great meeting at the Mansion House, and all that is now wanted is more funds to endow that School properly, and then the reproach will be removed from us—which was a very serious reproach—that we had not in the Metropolis of the Empire an Oriental School such as we undoubtedly ought to have, to train scholars, archæologists, and epigraphists. In the City I am happy to say there has been a response to our request; the City is quite convinced of the importance for our pioneers in the East to go out equipped with a certain amount of knowledge of the East. The missionary societies are also fully alive to the importance of missionaries who are sent out being better equipped than they have been hitherto. I think, therefore, that the prospects with regard to this Indian School are certainly favourable, and I hope when we next meet that the School will be in full swing at the London Institution, which at present is being arranged to receive the staff and students.

I believe that is all I have to say on the subject of our Report. I think that we can look back to the work of the past session with satisfaction: as I have said, the lectures are well attended and always interesting; and fortunately we are able to steer clear of all partisanship and party spirit, our only object being the prosperity and well-being of India. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

SIR LESLEY PROBYN said he had great pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report. He agreed they owed a debt of gratitude to Dr. Pollen for the excellent work he had done, and they ought to congratulate themselves on the progress that had been made by the Association.

SIR JAMES WILSON said that with reference to Sir Aurel Stein's collection, which had been mentioned by the Chairman, he would like to say that he was in India at the time arrangements were being made for Dr. Stein's journey, and he well remembered the difficulty they had in persuading the Government of India to allow Dr. Stein to go and to pay part of his expenses; and it was only on the understanding that India would secure a portion of the finds that it was thought just to spend Indian revenues on exploration in Central Asia. It was agreed by all that the claims of India to a share were legitimate, and he hoped the Government of India would



not too readily accept the suggestion of the Association and give up to the British Museum India's share of those very valuable records. He thought they would easily find in India a climate even more suitable for their preservation than the climate of London. He agreed it was in some ways more convenient to have them housed in one place, but there were other claims to be taken into account as well, and he hoped the other side of the question would be well considered before any decision was come to.

Dr. Pollen said he thought it was in the interests of the people of India that the Association were working to preserve the collection for 'their edification.

Having been moved and seconded, on being put to the meeting, the adoption of the Report was carried unanimously.

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL said that, before proposing the re-election of their President, he would like to associate himself entirely with his lordship's remarks about the late Lord Minto. It was his good fortune during the last years of his service in India to be closely associated with Lord Minto, and everything that Lord Reay had said appealed very strongly to him. Lord Minto was absolutely natural and unaffected; he had the power of inspiring regard—he might almost say affection—in those who worked with him.

With regard to Dr. Aurel's Stein's collection, he had had occasion the other day to go to the British Museum to see Dr. Ross, who had been appointed to look after and arrange this collection—subject finally, of course, to the wishes of the Secretary of State—and all who knew Dr. Ross would admit that he had the highest qualifications for the purpose.

Before concluding, he wished to propose the re-election of Lord Reay as President. (Hear, hear, and applause.) He had been good enough to aid the Association for a considerable period, and they were greatly indebted to him for the kindness with which he had accepted the post of President year after year, and also for the very wise advice and assistance he had given to them from time to time. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. COLDSTREAM, in seconding the proposal, said that when they looked back and remembered the great services his lordship had rendered to India as Governor of Bombay, and how he still gave his valuable time and strength to work for India, he felt sure they could not select a Chairman who would be more acceptable. He had given them all an example of strenuous work, which stimulated and encouraged them. That they should have as their Chairman one who was recognized as such a great authority on Indian affairs, political and educational, made them feel proud that they had as President one who adorned that position, and who carried great weight with the public in the work they endeavoured to carry on.

The proposal, on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I am very much obliged to you for the cordial way in which you have accepted the resolution, and for the way in which it has been proposed and seconded. I admit that I have thought it would be a great advantage to have as President of this Association someone younger, and with more recent experience of India—my ex-

perience is now getting rather out of date ; but as you are kind enough to overlook it, it is not for me to press the point, and I need not say that I take a great interest in the development of our Association.

On the motion of Dr. Pollen, seconded by Sir Arundel Arundel, H.H. the Maharajah of Jhind was unanimously elected as Vice-President.

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL proposed that the following Members of Council, who retired by rotation, be re-elected: Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., and Mr. W. Coldstream. This was seconded by Mr. Dunn, and carried unanimously.

On the motion of Dr. Pollen, seconded by Mr. Pennington, Sir Frank Campbell Gates, K.C.I.E., was unanimously elected as a new Member of Council.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that there were other vacancies if anyone present wished to propose someone else. The Council had the right to co-opt members if the necessity arose.

The HON. SECRETARY said that members had a right to nominate Members of Council. The Council did not arrogate to itself the exclusive right to appoint or co-opt members: it was open to any member of the Association at a General Meeting to propose Members of the Council.

A vote of thanks to Lord Reay, proposed by Dr. Pollen and seconded by Mr. Coldstream, was carried unanimously, and the proceedings then terminated.

## THE OTTOMAN ASSOCIATION

(44A, DOVER STREET, W.)

### FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

(JULY, 1914)

THE Association was founded on January 21, 1914, at a meeting held at 22, Albemarle Street, at which Lord Lamington took the chair. Your Executive are pleased to be able to state that the membership now totals 110, and express the hope that this number will steadily increase.

In support of the main objects of the Association, two memorials have been presented to the Foreign Office, a meeting in the City of London has taken place, questions have been asked in Parliament on behalf of the Association, and letters have appeared in the Press, written by individual members, to correct the misleading, exaggerated, or false information concerning Turkish action, which from time to time has been put into circulation. At the time the Powers were engaged in arriving at a decision as to the islands of the Ægean, which question had been referred to them by Turkey and Greece, your Executive, in a memorial to Sir Edward Grey, defined the arguments for the restoration of Chios and Mytilene to Turkey, and regretted the refusal of the Foreign Office to meet the Turkish Government's request for British Administrators for the East Anatolian Vilâyets.

The Foreign Secretary made reply as follows :

SIR,—

I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to him of the 28th ultimo, and to inform you that he has had under his consideration the memorial of the Ottoman Association therein enclosed. I am to state that he is in full accord with their desire to see peace and good government in the Turkish Empire, and that the considerations urged by your Association have been duly weighed by His Majesty's Government in the efforts they are making, in conjunction with other Powers, to secure a permanent and satisfactory settlement of the questions still outstanding in the Near East.

I am, etc.,

EYRE A. CROWE.

Shortly afterwards, on February 11, an important meeting under the auspices of our Association was held in the Cannon Street Hotel, at which the following resolutions were carried unanimously, Sir Thomas Barclay in the chair, and a large number of City gentlemen, besides members, being present :

That, in the opinion of this meeting, the continued interference of the Powers in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire acts as a dangerous and disturbing factor in the financial and commercial markets of the world, while it must inevitably, as in the case of the Balkan War, prove detrimental to the permanence of international peace, so vital to the interests of the City of London and of the other commercial cities of the world.

This was proposed by Sir Thomas Barclay, seconded by Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., M.P., and supported by Messrs. Tristram Harper, R. J. Barrett (Editor-Director of the *Financier* and *Bullionist*), and Marmaduke Pickthall. Mr. Harold Cox moved, the Hon. Walter Guinness, M.P.,

seconded, and Professor E. G. Browne supported, a second resolution :

That this meeting regrets that the recent policy of Great Britain has the appearance of having been persistently directed against the Turkish Empire.

The success of this meeting was largely due to the energy and generosity of Mr. Louis Wills.

During an evening party for members and their friends, on April 24, at the Bath Club, by invitation of Mr. Bennett, Sir Thomas Barclay gave a short address.

A second memorial was presented to the Foreign Secretary on June 24, exposing the provocative action of the Greeks in Macedonia, which forced vast numbers of Moslems to emigrate in destitution to Turkey, with the result that some of these "muhadjirs," incensed at previous ill-treatment, commenced to retaliate upon certain Greek villages in the Smyrna Vilayet, evicting the inhabitants, and causing a panic among the Greeks of the coast. These events found echo in some exaggerated and misleading statements, from Greek sources, in the English Press, and the serious situation was aggravated by the warlike and threatening demeanour of the Government of M. Venizelos. Our memorial went on to advocate the appointment of an International Commission to organize the migration between Macedonia and Asia Minor, and to adjudge compensation to the refugees in either country. The signatories to this memorial, with one exception, are members of this Association. In acknowledgment, Sir Edward Grey caused the subjoined reply to be returned to Lord Lamington, who headed the memorialists :

FOREIGN OFFICE,  
*June 27, 1914.*

MY LORD,—

Sir E. Grey has given full consideration to the memorial, dated the 17th instant, and bearing the signature of your lordship and other gentlemen, in which you urge His Majesty's Government to use

their influence to avert the outbreak of hostilities between Greece and Turkey.

In reply, I am to assure you that His Majesty's Government are fully aware and mindful of the reasons adduced in your memorial which make the maintenance of peace especially desirable, and, as Sir E. Grey has had occasion to state in the House of Commons, His Majesty's Government and the Governments of other Powers have made, and are making, representations both at Athens and Constantinople which they sincerely hope may contribute to avoid a rupture.

As regards your proposal that His Majesty's Government should suggest to the Greek and Turkish Governments their acceptance of an International Commission to regulate the reciprocal emigration of their Christian and Moslem subjects, and the adjustment of losses thereby incurred, I am to state that Sir E. Grey considers that these objects should be obtainable by the Turco-Greek Commission already designed for the purpose, and, further, it is his experience that offers of mediation are seldom acceptable to Powers at variance unless they can be made at the desire of both of them. Should, however, both Greece and Turkey express a wish for such an International Commission, His Majesty's Government would not fail to give due consideration to the proposal.

Sir E. Grey has taken note of your view of the responsibility attaching for the present state of things, but he does not feel himself competent to apportion the blame, nor must he be understood to endorse the statements as to the special censure incurred, in your view, by the Greek Government. It should be remembered that the totals given of Turkish emigration are, in all probability, much exaggerated, and, moreover, large numbers of the Moslem refugees from Macedonia come from territories which are not administered by Greece.

The last reports received by Sir E. Grey justify the hope that the two countries appreciate the disastrous results to both that would follow on hostilities, and are taking steps to insure peace by removing as far as possible the causes which have led to the present unfortunate state of tension.

I am, etc.,

EYRE A. CROWE.

At this time of tension the resolution of your Executive, which follows below, was forwarded on the 3rd instant to His Excellency Talaat Bey, on whom, as Minister of the Interior, had fallen the task of arresting the Greek flight, restoring order, and punishing the offenders. It seems largely owing to the prompt energies and wise counsel of this Minister that the situation is to-day easier.

The resolution sent to His Excellency the Minister of the Interior reads :

Que cette Association admire la modération dont fait preuve le Gouvernement Impérial Ottoman, et aime à croire que le dit Gouvernement en continuant à montrer de la patience, même en face d'une provocation, pourra maintenir cette paix tellement essentielle à la prospérité future de l'Empire de sa Majesté le Sultan.

To these sentiments the recipient adds his own :

SUBLIME PORTE,  
le 9 juillet, 1914.

TRES CHER MONSIEUR,—

Je remercie le Comité Exécutif de l'Association Ottomane des sentiments fort louables qu'il a exprimés dans une de ses dernières réunions. Le travail constant du Gouvernement Ottoman consiste dans le relèvement progressif de la nation Ottomane, fortement éprouvée depuis fort longtemps. Pour tirer un résultat effectif de notre effort, il est certain que nous

avons besoin d'un long répit tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur : l'Ottoman Association peut être tranquille, ce n'est pas nous qui désirons rompre ce répit.

Agréez, etc.,

TALAAAT.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

During the ensuing autumn and winter it is proposed to hold a series of meetings for members and their friends, at which addresses and lectures will be given. Your Executive have been in correspondence with various gentlemen with this end in view. Another form of activity has been suggested in the shape of debates at the Oxford and Cambridge Unions. It is hoped that the Association may receive later on an accession of membership by incorporating an association of similar aims to our own. Your Executive have in consideration the appointment of two sub-committees—the one to deal systematically with misrepresentations and allegations against Turks from Greek or other sources in the Press as they appear; the other to investigate the possibilities which lie before the Association of taking a more active part in furthering British trade with Turkey, and encouraging the investment of British capital in that country. In this connection generally it is thought that a public meeting in Manchester, where British trade interests in the Nearer East are so strongly represented, may be of some assistance, while the appointment of correspondents of the Association in the chief towns of Thrace and Asia Minor should result in a clearer perception of current events and the commercial opportunities which exist.

The Executive trust that the dinner will become an annual fixture. Hearing that His Excellency Djemal Pasha, Minister of Marine, had arrived in Paris, the Association sent him an invitation to be present on the 23rd instant. He declined with regret, owing to his immediate return to the East.



A collection of Press cuttings, with index, is being continued. *Le Jeune Turc* and the chief periodicals dealing with affairs of the Near East are placed on file at the office, which is open from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m., except on Saturdays.

The accounts have been audited and found correct. They disclose a credit balance at the bank on June 30 of £21 6s. 3d., though outstanding accounts exceed by a few pounds the funds in hand on July 21. As against this position, subscriptions from thirty-seven members are in arrears. Expenses for clerical work have been heavy: nearly nine hundred envelopes have been addressed to be sent to individuals likely to join. Items under this head will be lighter in the future. Your committee gratefully acknowledge the timely generosity which by donations has added the round sum of £46 to the funds. In conclusion, the committee sincerely trust that members will do their utmost to interest their friends in the work and objects of the Association.

For the Executive,

E. N. BENNETT,

*Hon. Sec.*

## SUPPLEMENT

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

1. The Colonies of the Netherlands. J. Macmillan Brown: THE DUTCH EAST; 221 pp., 73 plates. London: *Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.* Price 10s. 6d. net. Arthur S. Walcott: JAVA AND HER NEIGHBOURS; 344 pp., 73 plates, map, and index. London and New York: *G. P. Putnam's Sons.* Price 10s. 6d. net.

Whether copra, oil, or rubber is responsible for the sudden crop of books on Java we know not, but within a few weeks three at least, of which two are now before us, have sketched the Dutch Colonies from various standpoints. The first consists of articles written by a New Zealander for New Zealand journals, sketches in truth, but with a practised hand behind the pen, fearlessly putting forward theories and opinions at once new and refreshing, although in some cases the writer shows a bias towards Polynesian influence in the Malay culture not altogether convincing. Others have fallen in the same way through easy generalizations—*e.g.*, Fenollosa in his appreciation of the origin of Japanese art. The articles, however, should have been subjected to a more drastic editing: iterations are somewhat too frequent, owing to the original publication of the various chapters as separate essays. There are many suggestive pages which could with advantage be developed at length, and comparison instituted with other countries: thus the butcher caste and the performances in Kawi or Kromo have their respective parallels in the Éta and the Nô dances of Japan. The native labour question and the demoralizing effect of cheap food—*viz.*, sago, to be had without trouble—are treated with mastery in a convincing, straightforward language. To those busybodies whose life is spent in meddling with other people's business, and in particular to the supporters of the Plumage Bill, the chapter on birds of paradise should be an eye-opener, showing how Nature protects its offsprings without the help of square-toed legislation. The author, however, appears to be mistaken in his opinion respecting the pyramidal temples of Borobudur, Prambanam, etc. Surely he has overlooked the topes and stupas in his eagerness to bring in the Tahiti pyramids (pp. 6-18). Whether his allusions to the Yucatan ruins refer to the theory of Arnold and Frost that "America's first

architects were Buddhist immigrants from Java and Indo-China," propounded in 1908, can only be surmised, just as much as the "chronological argument" adduced by the author needs confirmation; but the use of a pyramid as a tomb or an altar, as a more permanent monument than the tumulus, is too general for us to think that the Tahiti monuments influenced the Hindu and Buddhist builders of India and Java.

The book is well worth reading from cover to cover; there is enough humour in the most serious pages, and its record of how stale meat in Europe led to the use of spices, their gathering and monopoly to rivalry and wars, to changing influences in Java and her sister islands, how finally the Dutch "hold the cow," and the Chinese-cum-Arab crowd of traders and pawnbrokers milk it, will prove as entertaining as a novel.

Mr. Walcott's "Java and Her Neighbours" is a travel-book, almost a guide-book, not so much concerned with the ethics or the philosophy of Malay life, but rich in historical information, without which the record of a three months' trip over some 4,000 miles might prove meagre. The author tells us that he was led to publish his impressions and notes owing to the paucity of modern literature relating to the islands of Sumatra, Ternate, the Moluccas, and the Celebes, and from a popular point of view his book tends to fill the gap, although Java is given the largest share of its pages. It agrees with Brown's book in denouncing the exactions of the Chinese traders and praising the Dutch administration, in condemning the half-caste "Christians and Protestants who seem to have the usual vices of native Christians—drunkenness, laziness, bumptiousness, like most natives who have been taught that all men are equal and brothers."

Generally speaking, the treatment of the subject is sympathetic throughout, and calculated to induce travel in the Malay Archipelago. An amusing suggestion is made that the name "Celebes" is derived from *Silabih*, "land up there," having been mistaken for the name of the island by some early navigator, just as legend has it that a stranded sailor who became teacher of English (!) in a Japanese port was immortalized as Mr. Damyuraiziu in the retentive memory of his pupils.

Due credit is given to the archaeological work of Sir Stamford Raffles and of the Dutch Government in the unearthing and restoration of the Buddhist monuments of Borobūdūr, Mendūt, and Prambānam, to which an interesting chapter is devoted.

The illustrations in both works are numerous and good; a few cases of duplication occur inevitably. After perusing both, the most casual reader will realize how earnestly the Dutch have worked since the fall of Napoleon I. Unfortunately the system of administration, which delegates the collection of revenue and the responsibility for keeping law and order to ward-captains and petty chieftains, does not appear to prevent the Chinese and Arabs from exploiting the natives. It is greatly to be desired that ethnologists should study more closely the relations between the Dutch East and the neighbouring Indo-Chinese and Japanese cultures. Much has been done for the ethnology of Java by Dutch writers in the *Archiv für Ethnologie*, but still more remains to be done.

HENRI L. JOLY.

2. **INTERPRETATIONS AND FORECASTS : A Study of Survivals and Tendencies in Contemporary Society.** By Victor Branford, M.A., sometime Honorary Secretary of the Sociological Society. (London: Duckworth and Co., 1914.) Price 7s. 6d.

After reading this volume one is tempted to exclaim, in the words of Whitman: "This is no book: who touches this, touches a man!" That is to say, it is a book of the best sort, filled with the life, hope, and faith of a generous and penetrating mind. The problem, handled with striking ease, freshness, and reality, is the oldest and largest: How to make the world a better home for man, and man a better citizen of his world.

The book is largely made up, as the author tells us apologetically in the preface, of many papers and addresses delivered "to serve some momentary purpose in the propaganda of sociology." No apology is needed, for whatever lack of logical regularity there may be in a work of this kind, not written as an intellectual exercitation, is more than compensated by the human charm and spontaneity, resulting no doubt from its origin. It has indeed a unity beyond logic, a vocal appeal that argument by itself cannot compass, something of the essential power of prophecy.

The author lays out his thesis with a wealth of material, drawn partly from thinkers of all ages, and, far more, from his own observation, social intercourse, and travel, relieved by humour and deepened by insight. He starts by explaining and defining sociology as the study and doctrine of society in evolution, and shows it us, like Janus, with two faces, civics and eugenics: only the two faces ought to look towards, and not away from, each other. Neither, he urges, can throw any effective light on the problem by itself. The betterment of the city, as environment, the betterment of man as organism, can only be mirrored each in each. To this end there must be a rapprochement between all the elements of society capable of effecting these two improvements, which are really not two but one. The practical citizen must come into touch with the man of science and art, city and university must interpenetrate; there must be, once more, as in the Middle Ages, a natural circulation and interchange of ideas between all classes in the community. The author makes great play of Comte's division of society into "People, Chiefs, Intellectuals, and Emotionals," and holds up before us a constant vision, expressed in a favourite figure, of their "orchestration" into a harmonious whole.

This is not to be done by violent means, or socialistic short-cuts, but by following the lines of least resistance, and making use of every scrap of tradition and survival still operative amongst us. The way of art is the way of sociology also. Let us, therefore, gather up and turn to actual use in the improvement of our own social life the best thought and practice of the past—the civic and dramatic doctrine and art of the Greeks, typified by the worship of Athena and Dionysus; the vital organization of craft and industry in the guild-system, that expressed itself in Miracle, Morality, and Mystery plays, and flowered in the cathedrals of the Middle Ages; the glories of the Elizabethan drama, and the moral fervour of Milton in

"Comus"—the last clear flame before (with the decline of corporate life) the drama also declined. The author sees, in the present-day revival of pageants for religious, social, and intellectual purposes, a hope for the future that drama may yet again take its true place as the most vivid and universal stimulus to a finer communal life. The whole chapter on "The Sociologist at the Theatre" is so admirable and illuminating that every young dramatist should read it, and every young citizen also.

The keynote to the purpose of the book is the often-repeated phrase, "How can we incorporate the people into the whole of contemporary culture?" The gulf between cultured and uncultured must be bridged; the unhappy division between men of science, men of letters, and theologians, must be healed, so that they together, representing the "Intellectuals" and "Emotionals," may direct the power and money of the "Chiefs" towards this incorporation of all classes into the best thought and ideals of the age. The University must no longer hold aloof from the city, nor the city undervalue the University. Mr. Branford is full of hope here, also, and sees fruitful signs of promise in what has been, and is being, done in Edinburgh, Glasgow, London, and elsewhere in Great Britain, and even more in the younger universities of the United States, where there is a new life and purpose running through school and college.

True culture, however, is impossible without responsibility, and therefore the author throws out a parallel line of attack in the idea of the "Resorption of Government." The citizen must not only be brought in to the intellectual and emotional life of his day, but he must also be admitted to a real share in the government of his city and its neighbourhood. And this by no mere vote and speech, but by civic activity. Dante says that he determined to use every word in the Italian language in his great poem; more noble words more often, and others less often, but every word at least once; Mr. Branford sees our life as a poem, in which every man should have some share. All available knowledge of the region material and humane, is to be brought together by the sociological surveyor, and made public, and an interest thus evoked in town-planning in its widest sense. Every citizen must be made to feel that everything in his world is a concern of his, and hers—education, industry, art, religion.

Anyone who reads this book once will read it again. Contrary to the suggestion of the title, it is the very opposite of a specialist treatise. It is comprehensive without being vague, scientific without being dry, vigorous without being partisan. Above all, it maintains an air throughout of hope and faith, and is illumined by constant flashes of humour and poetry. Nothing is more striking than the bold way in which the author, by outlook and inlook, unites the visible and invisible elements of life. To speak in a mystical figure, the city is regarded by him as a Divine flower to be grown on earth, when we, the gardeners, allow it. In more ordinary metaphor, art, poetry, music, are indeed stones in his theory of town-planning, but religion is "the headstone in the corner."

3. VOCABULAIRE FRANÇAIS - CHINOIS DES SCIENCES. By Charles Taranzano, S.J. (Paris: *Guilmoto*; London: *Morice*.)

The introduction of European sciences in the East has necessitated the creation of new words in Japanese and in Chinese to express new ideas. The Japanese have probably been the most prolific creators in that respect, taking Chinese characters and forming therewith words which are barbarous in Japanese, and the lists of which in the existing dictionaries are unfortunately incomplete. The R.P. Taranzano, S.J., has sought in Chinese textbooks written since the Japanese adoption of Western ways the sinified forms as well as the original Japanese expression. His work of over 450 pages, with an English key and some plates, will prove of use to the students of Japanese as well as to those for whose use it has been primarily written.—J.

4. THE GOLDEN BOUGH (Part IV.): ADONIS, ALTIS, OSIRIS. By Professor James George Frazer (now Sir). Two vols. (*Macmillan*.) Price 21s. net.

This part of the work, now enlarged to over 630 pages (450 pages in the second edition of 1907) has been chiefly enlarged in the section dealing with Osiris. Its preface is a remarkably frank avowal of the difficulties which beset the inquirer in questions of ancient and comparative mythology, with a note of disappointment at the impossibility to reach finality in such matters. But this pessimistic view need not deter anyone from reading from cover to cover this revised edition, and, although cutting open the sheets of a learned work is a distracting, irritating business, the hours spent among those pages will be well repaid by the wealth of suggestion they contain. A general index to the "Golden Bough" is promised, the publication of which will make still more evident the mass of encyclopedic learning contained in its eleven volumes.—H. L. J.

5. ATHENS AND ITS MONUMENTS. By C. H. Weller.

Here we welcome another volume added to that most useful series, the Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities, issued by Messrs. Macmillan and Co. The student knows what good friends he has in these weighty but unpretentious red octavos, well illustrated and rich in precise information. Mr. Weller's book is a valuable addition to the series. Like that of his great Pickwickian namesake, his knowledge of the town he deals with is "extensive and peculiar." His style is brief and clear, but in passing I should like to protest against such solecisms as "donated," "choicest," "made over into a mosque." There is no hiding of doubtful points under verbiage; nothing careless or slipshod.

The author states that the general plan of his book was suggested by Miss Harrison's "Mythology and Monuments," which is now out of print. There is, however, little real resemblance between the two books. Miss Harrison frankly placed the mythological interest first, in contents as in title; Mr. Weller almost omits the mythology, and gives a precise description of each building, followed by a brief sketch of its history. He does not pretend to trace their vicissitudes beyond Roman days—no doubt a

wise limitation. Owing to skilful condensation he has been able to gather into comparatively small compass results for which the reader would previously have had to hunt through scattered numbers of archaeological journals in five or six languages, as well as through an extensive crop of recent literature in the English language: Gardner's "Ancient Athens," D'Ooge's "Acropolis of Athens," and Sir James Frazer's exhaustive commentary on "Pausanias." Perhaps this condensation and brevity have been carried rather too far. Mr. Weller says that he has written for the general reader, yet I doubt whether even the excellent plans and illustrations would lure the general reader far in this compendium of minute and sometimes technical detail. On the other hand, if the author had acknowledged that his book would be chiefly read by students and serious travellers, he would not have omitted the footnote references to his authorities, and we should not constantly be pulled up by such disappointing generalities as "the majority of scholars are in substantial agreement that," or "on the whole the balance of evidence is in favour of." It is not by sacrifice of cargo that a merchant-boat will ever be converted into a yacht. It is a question of build more than of weight. Mr. Weller's book is planned on lines of use, and it would have been more useful still if he had given us those references which undoubtedly are in his notebook. In discussing the older Parthenon he does not even mention the American scholars to whom the results he summarizes are due. His highly technical description gives facts hitherto only to be found in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, but he does not add that these facts were obtained by American architects who were allowed to raise portions of the paving, a work requiring both skill and discretion. The evidence buried in the substructure, combined with well-known traces of the periods of construction in the podium, indicate the existence of two successive beginnings. To avoid confusion it might also have been stated that the plan given in Fig. 171 is conjectural.

The illustrations add greatly to the value of the book. It is the first time that so many illustrations of the statues mentioned by Pausanias have been brought together, and if Mr. Weller is sometimes a little lenient in his attributions (as in Figs. 94 and 158), that is more than compensated by his wide and unusual selection. The reproductions of drawings by Stuart and Revett are interesting, and not easily accessible elsewhere.

In matters of detail Mr. Weller's accuracy is above praise, but there are a few minor points which might receive his consideration in preparing a second edition:

P. 21. Cæsius should read Cærias.

P. 182. There is no doubt that Byron used the so-called Lantern of Demosthenes as his study. Several of his letters are dated from here.

P. 149. "Thievish and —— wights" (a word missing).

P. 249. Is it not straining a point to say that the herm of Alcamenes resembles the style of Pheidias?

P. 264. The Frankfort statue of Athena, from the Athena and Marsyas group, is not headless, though the head is detached.

P. 372 (Fig. 243). The bridge is made to carry the river over the road instead of the road over the river.

## COMMERCIAL NOTES

### MOTOR TRANSPORT IN THE BALKAN WARS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO A NEW FIELD FOR BRITISH ENTERPRISE

BY CAPTAIN A. H. TRAPMAN

ONE of the most noticeable effects of the recent wars upon Greece is the great impulse given to every form of motor transport. At the outbreak of hostilities on October 17, 1912, there were only 97 motor vehicles registered in the whole of Greece, whilst to-day in Athens alone there are some 280 privately-owned motors, not to mention some 500 cars and lorries belonging to the Government; and it is common knowledge that the Government are at the moment inviting tenders for some 500 additional commercial lorries, whilst private individuals are importing motors daily for commercial or private use. The recent campaigns have formed the very finest advertisement that the motor-car industry has ever had throughout the Balkan States. It is interesting to trace the military, economical, and commercial history of this boom, which is only now at its very first commencement, since it is only a few months since the Greek army was demobilized and trade conditions returned to the normal.

In the autumn of 1912, it may be stated, with a very few exceptions, the motors in Greece were luxurious privately-owned pleasure-cars. These the Government at



once commandeered for the service of the army, principally for the use of Generals and their staffs. The owners of these cars were wealthy gentlemen who did not even know how to drive, and had purchased their motors abroad in Paris or Milan upon the recommendation of some friend. A large percentage of the chauffeurs who drove these cars were foreigners. I do not think it would be an exaggeration to say that there were not a dozen Greeks in the country who had even the most elementary knowledge concerning motors. Public opinion was totally uninstructed. The very names of the leading European makers were ignored. It is doubtful whether anybody in the country could have named more than half a dozen different manufacturers, and even to-day I doubt if any Greek could name more than three British firms.

At the outset of the first war the first consideration in placing orders was the question of rapid delivery; and here, naturally enough, France and Italy scored by their geographical positions. The Greek Government, being totally ignorant of all technical knowledge, bought the cheapest article in the nearest market, quite irrespective of workmanship, design, or suitability. The one technical expression which the purchasers understood was "H.P.," and in selecting chassis for purchase the principal consideration (after the all-important question of immediate delivery) was to obtain the greatest horse-power at the lowest price. Naturally enough, a very large percentage of "crocks" were foisted off, and in one instance a large consignment of Renault touring-car chassis were fitted with lorry bodies, and did duty for the transport of heavy stores. The delivery was immediate, the average price per horse-power worked out economically, and that was the only criterion the purchasers understood.

Naturally enough, firms who had already supplied vehicles were the first to be applied to when repeat orders were to be placed, with the result that, although the Government purchased hundreds of motors during the period of hostilities,

the orders were mostly confined to a selected ring of half a dozen manufacturers in Italy, France, and Germany.

Now, there is no country in Europe where the roads are so bad and so few as in the Balkans, and for this reason the general staffs of the various Balkan armies had given no thought to the question of motor transport. The question arose automatically when the scarcity of horseflesh became apparent, and obtained a definite answer when the contending armies discovered, to their surprise, how efficiently a modern motor-lorry can negotiate seemingly impossible tracks. By the end of November the Greek general staff at least had come to the conclusion that the only possible way of feeding their armies at the front was by motor transport, even if roads had to be made for the motors to run on. From a purely military point of view, I think the greatest lesson the Balkan wars have to teach us is the hitherto undreamt-of value of motor transport as compared with animal transport.

It must be remembered that the tide of war carried the Greek army into wide tracts of country where railways were unknown, and where a motor-car had never before made its appearance. As peace succeeded to war, the inhabitants, who had hitherto looked upon thirty miles as the limit of a day's journey, began to clamour for the convenience of this new form of conveyance, which they had seen give such excellent results during the actual campaign. The Greek Government, eager to please the inhabitants of their newly-acquired territories, utilized such vehicles as could be spared from purely military duties for the temporary establishment of public conveyance routes throughout the new territories, and up-country merchants tasted the joys of performing in a few hours journeys which hitherto had occupied almost as many days. Wherever the Government established temporary commercial routes, their vehicles were crowded to overflowing, and the price of transport was quite a secondary consideration.

For the most part, however, the services maintained by

the Government for the joint benefit of the civilian and military elements were hopelessly mismanaged. The drivers knew absolutely nothing about their cars save how to handle the steering wheels. Never have services been worse or less economically run. In the hands of a Greek military chauffeur the average life of a car was six weeks, and that of a brand-new tyre fifty or sixty miles! But even on this extravagant basis the traffic was found to be profitable, and was continued until demobilization of the army automatically abolished the *raison d'être* for a regular quasi-military service.

The Government, however, was not slow to realize the possibilities of the motor in a country where distances are great and railways are very few. There is a vast scheme afoot for running some 500 Government-owned motor-lorries and charabancs along the more frequented roads, for the conveyance of mails, passengers, and goods, with the idea that in the event of another war these vehicles would be invaluable for the service of the army. At the present moment tenders for the supply of this preliminary fleet are being invited at Athens, and there can be no doubt, when it is found that such services can be run profitably in time of peace, that they will be greatly extended, if not by Government, at least by commercial enterprise.

It is interesting to note the after-effects of war, which is said to be such a disastrous calamity for trade and commerce. Firstly, it should be placed on record that throughout the war neither Greek securities nor the rate of exchange ever varied. The call of patriotism brought back to the country thousands of Greeks who had emigrated, and a large percentage of these are remaining in the country for which they have fought (no less than 67,000 Greeks returned from the United States of America alone, and served as soldiers in the campaign). Next only in importance to the currant industry, the shipping trade holds a prominent part in Greece. Thanks to the fact that Greece maintained command of the sea, her shipowners enjoyed a boom of

trade at inflated prices. Lastly, the population and the area of new Greece is double that of the Hellenic Kingdom before the war ; and not only will all the existing industries bring grist to the mill, but under a progressive Government there is a tremendous outlet for the capitalist, who will no longer be hampered by the antiquated embargoes of Turkish rule.

What is true of Greece is also true, if in a minor degree, of Servia, Roumania, and even Bulgaria. Provided that peace can be maintained, there is no finer outlet for capital than in the Balkan States. Here we have a population desirous for all the amenities of civilization, a population that is not only hardy, industrious, and intelligent, but exceedingly frugal and temperate. Quite nine-tenths of the newly-acquired lands are undeveloped, and, although minerals and oil are known to exist, no mining enterprise has ever attacked the virgin soil of what erstwhile was known as "Turkey in Europe." So soon as Western financiers and traders begin to realize these salient facts there will be an immense boom in Balkan affairs, and those who are far-seeing enough to "come in early" will reap the full benefits of their far-sightedness.

The trade of the port of Athens has more than trebled itself during the past decade, whilst Greek Macedonia contains the most important silk-worm and tobacco areas in the world. Freed from the insuperable objections of Turkish rule, these two industries will prove a source of enormous wealth. It will be suggested that, if my contentions are true, the opportunities for successful railway enterprise are even rosier than those for motor expansion ; but it must be remembered that the possibility of war cannot be neglected. In war time a railway suffers not only loss of trade, but material damage to rolling stock and the permanent way ; whilst the worst that can happen to a motor transport business is that its vehicles would be taken over at a pre-arranged valuation by the Government. It is important to note that, so far as Greece is concerned, the Government

have no power to *requisition* the motor vehicles of a foreign subject, and in point of fact, during the recent wars, did not attempt to take over such vehicles, except in so much as they offered splendid prices to foreigners willing to sell.

After a careful study, executed on the spot, of the possibilities for motor enterprises in Greece alone, I am convinced that there is ample scope for an exceedingly remunerative investment of nearly £1,000,000; and should any firm have the courage to establish a motor car and lorry factory in the vicinity of Athens, the success of the venture would be phenomenal.

It is a curious fact that, although English is spoken by most of the official and commercial classes in Greece, British industry is practically unrepresented. Very few of the agents who do represent English firms enjoy the confidence of the Government officials, and there is no doubt that British firms do not enjoy the same facilities as do the French or Germans.

Having dealt with the commercial aspect of the situation, let us turn to consider the military lessons learnt during the recent campaigns so far as they affect motor transport. In view of all the factors which militated against the use of motor transport, it is astonishing that motors were used at all, and still more astonishing that they were used almost to the exclusion of all other means of transport. If in Balkania—where the roads are bad or non-existent, where chauffeurs are still worse and rarer, where a competent mechanic does not exist—practically the whole transport of an army is motor-borne, we can imagine what is likely to happen in Western Europe, in the event of war, as regards transport. If after six weeks of war Greece realized she must pin her faith to motor transport—Greece, who hitherto had not possessed six commercial motor vehicles, if she possessed as many!—we can imagine what is likely to happen in England, France, or Germany, where the utility of the motor is already understood, and where a horse famine becomes daily more threatening.

Personally I am convinced that ten years hence the horse for army transport purposes will be entirely superseded ; and even should my prophecy prove incorrect, then I would amend it by saying that after the first ten weeks of war the horse will be superseded for transport purposes. I even go a step farther, for I foresee an era when motor infantry—infantry soldiers carried to the vicinity of the battle-field in motor omnibuses and charabancs—will play an all-important part in war in countries where even only a few roads exist. Cavalry shock tactics are merely a romantic survival of the past ; fire-power, rapidity of movement, a plentiful ammunition and food supply, will be the deciding factors of the war of to-morrow, and these desiderata are possessed by the infantryman who has a motor conveyance to carry himself and his supplies.

The deadly effect of modern weapons has induced extended fighting formations ; the adoption of the motor will bring with it an era of extended marching formations. In the old days thirty soldiers could march twenty miles a day, and when in battle array showed a front of fifteen paces, whilst on the march they covered a road space of some eight yards. The thirty motor infantrymen of to-morrow will cover eighty miles a day, show a front of sixty paces, and take up a road space of thirty yards or so on the march, if we allow for the interval between vehicles. Such, to my reading, is the writing upon the wall.

In conclusion I would urge the British motor industry to duly study the requisites of the military motor both for the transport of stores and for troops. The tendency at present is for military officials with an extensive knowledge of military requirements, and no knowledge at all of commercial requirements, to lay down the law, and to specify types of vehicles to which alone subsidies will be paid. It is easy in times of peace to lay down given rules, but when war comes it will be found that the Government will be only too anxious to take over any type of vehicle which will run on four wheels under its own power. It is also

obvious that commercial firms who have experience of motor transport, and who run their business with the object of making money, will evolve the most economical and reliable means of transport. In comparison with these firms the military authorities have very little experience, and are apt to strive after an ideal rather than after a practical type of vehicle. In peace time the military authorities make regulations regarding the purchase of motors which they will incontinently break the moment that war is imminent.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

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“A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR”

## MOROCCO AND EUPHEMISMS OF THE PRESS\*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE “ASIATIC REVIEW”

SIR,

In a recent issue of this Review Mr. Charles Rosher made an eloquent appeal for the claims of poor Morocco to the sympathetic interest of English readers, and it may seem that he left little to be said—at any rate, for the present—on this theme. But there is one accessory branch of the subject on which I may be permitted to offer a few remarks from the point of view of a simple student of words.

It is very difficult to write about this hapless land and her people in language sufficiently clear as to convey the true idea desired. The most conscientious master of a pen is compelled by journalistic convention to use terms which, although comprehended by a select few, tell practically a lie to the general public. A French Protectorate newspaper, for instance, informs us that “General Brulard’s column will shortly proceed south to secure the pacification of the Soos provinces.” This reads quite nicely. We have all been taught in our young days that pacification, from our old friend *pax*, means making peace. Now, in Moroccan journalese, its sense is not only different from, but diametrically opposed to, peace-making. It means making war. And a war of conquest, which almost to a

\* By R. L. N. Johnston, writer of “The Songs of Sidi Hammo,” “Fadma,” and other works on Morocco.

certainty means a war of extermination so far as the fighting men of the region to be "pacified" are concerned.

Similarly, we speak, or at any rate write, about Moulai Yousf as His Sharifian Majesty the Sultan. Now Moulai Yousf, one of the great Moulai el Hassan's many sons, is undoubtedly Sharifian, but he is no more Sultan, save in the fertile imagination of the Protectorate pressmen, than you or I. Not a Muslim in all Sunset Land, always excepting the gang of courtiers who are growing fat on the enslavement of their country, calls him anything but Moulai Yousf. Having betrayed his people and his faith to secure for himself an inglorious life of pampered ease, he may still, for all I know, solace his personal vanity with the proud title, "Commander of the Faithful," *Amir ul Moumenin*; but every man in Morocco—Christian, Moslim, and Jew—knows that he is the servant of the unbelievers.

Perhaps these two illustrations may suffice to give an idea—for a hundred others might be quoted—of the grotesque manner in which we are, almost unconsciously, giving to the folks at home distorted versions of facts.

But there is something I should like to add, as briefly as may be, which, perhaps, is more important than verbal accuracy. We are so accustomed in the homeland to regard the Moor either as a Raisuli brigand, or simply as a fitting hero for a comic opera, that our mental vision is necessarily obscured to his real nature, more especially as it is affected by his faith in the Unseen. Now, the true Moor, whether he be of Arab or of Berber descent, is a fervent and reverent believer in one God, lord of the universe. In the language of the country—and many other countries—he calls Him Alláh. And this name covers meanings far more profound and far wider than some of us are disposed to realize. I should like to ask any fellow Christian of average education what his ideas are of the central, all-embracing belief taught by Mohammed with regard to the nature of the Deity. As one might have to pause long for an intelligible reply, let me try to

give my own impressions. Taking up a copy of the Koran, or Sale's excellent translation, I find that every chapter begins with the brief but lofty exordium: *In the Name of the Most Merciful God*. And moreover, whatever else is taught to the Moorish boy by his father's scribe, the duty of almsgiving, the desirability, if possible, of making the pilgrimage, and so forth, the one thing he is never allowed to forget is the limitless compassion of the Almighty.

Perhaps I have said enough to indicate that our hapless Moroccan friend is not wholly unworthy of rather more than the scant sympathy he has hitherto received at the hands of Christian England. As the Moorish adage runs: "To be understood is better than a gift."

R. L. N. JOHNSTON.

MOGADOR,

June 24, 1914.

#### MR. NOEL BUXTON AND ARMENIA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

DEAR SIR,

In view of the mixed reception accorded to Mr. Buxton's book, I hope you will permit me, as one who has some knowledge of the conditions there, to state my views as briefly as possible in these columns.

On taking up the small volume entitled "Travel and Politics in Armenia," by Noel Buxton, M.P., and the Rev. H. Buxton, with an introduction by Viscount Bryce, and a contribution on Armenian history and culture by Aram Raffi, one could not help but be impressed by the title, and hope that the authors would really add to our knowledge of one of the great questions of nearer Eastern politics. Frankly, we are disappointed. Even the facile introduction by Viscount Bryce, who naturally, in pleasant literary phrase, refuses to discuss the main problem suggested by the book, will not make the work one of any permanent value or interest. It is too obviously the product of a rather irrational enthusiast.

That the authors have journeyed within Turkish lands at various times is a matter of little import (as they assure us in the preface), unless they convey the impression that they have profited sufficiently by their experiences to understand the inner natures of the various people and peoples they have seen. This they do not do.

The main argument of the writers seems to be that the Armenians are "much-misunderstood women," who have the potentiality to be a real live nation; nevertheless, the author's advice is that they be turned over to the Russians to be governed by them. To our mind, this contradiction vitiates any value the book might, from its title-page, be supposed to possess.

The 160 pages by the Messrs. Buxton could, so far as real thought or original presentation of an old theme goes, be boiled down to twenty. The illustrations are not particularly characteristic nor interesting, and the constant descriptions of landscape or incidents of commonplace travel are very tiresome, utterly valueless to anyone accustomed to the East, and so ungraphic that they can serve no purpose for anyone.

Too often, also, do the authors state their liking for Young Turks, Armenians, Russians, and everyone else. So general a liking can be based on no true principle of selection, but is due to the tiresomely common feeling of the "man-in-the-street" of English superiority.

Chapter I. is taken up mainly with a harrowing description of the horrors of the Kurds, and their treatment of the Armenians. That the former do often steal sheep or commit murder in tribal warfare is unquestioned, but so do the Armenians. Furthermore, the obvious suggestion of the authors that the Kurds are a terrible and dangerous people who obey no law and are never kept under control, is scarcely one that will be accepted by those of us who have often travelled with perfect safety and comfort under the ægis of the Turkish Government. Such a story as that told on p. 17 needs explanation. One wants to know

whether it was the Olympian frown of the authors that caused the sudden "chill" to weaken the courage of the Kurds.

The little joke about giving a knife and fork (p. 26) to a native who was accustomed to eating with his fingers also betokens the mentality of the authors.

The chapters (II., III., and IV.) on Armenia are very trifling. In the first we get the suggestion that Armenia be turned over to Russia, but the authors do not inform us whether they are sure the Russian Government cares to take charge of some millions of petty shopkeepers. The next chapter (III.) is little but a glorified guide-book description of Tiflis; and the last (IV.) has nothing we cannot find in ordinary books of reference, and adds nothing whatever to our understanding of the Armenian question. Such statements as, "Personal religion suffers because individuals have not the freedom or leisure to follow their own bent" (p. 84), show the unbaked powers of thought of the writers.

Chapter V., "Moslem States," is superficial to a degree. The description of a bazaar and its horrors is very early Victorian, and the statements about Turks are more than doubtful.

In Chapter VI. we come to the main thesis of the book. The first half is a potpourri of very questionable generalizations about the Powers; the last half contains the suggestion (vaguely stated before) that the Armenians ought to be given over to Russian rule—that if this were done they would become a happy, well-to-do nation. It does no harm for the authors to hold this sweet and innocuous belief, but their arguments are very unconvincing, and when one reads in the last part of the book the history of Armenia by Aram Raffi, and finds that the Armenians have never for any great length of time been able to hold their own against outside oppression, one doubts whether a little sentimental English aid will really be of much assistance to them. The likeness drawn by the authors of



Armenia to Egypt is too silly for words. Historically, racially, geographically, the dissimilarity is complete.

On the whole, we cannot echo the gratitude of the authors to the editors of the *Contemporary Review*, the *Nineteenth Century*, and the *World's Work*, for allowing the articles which constitute the volume to be reprinted.

Yours,

ISIDOR MORSE.

59A, BROOK STREET, W.

## THE WAR AND INDIA

WE have been asked on many sides what effect will the present War with Germany have on India, and we have had the advantage of talking to a representative Indian gentleman on this subject. He is an advanced thinker and man of prominent position, in whom Indians of all classes have the highest confidence. His opinion was that it would be well for India if the tension between the great Powers of Europe could be ended once for all.

This rivalry in armaments, he declared, was bad for India. It was only when this disappeared that Great Britain could give proper attention to the solution of outstanding questions vitally affecting the best interests of India.

As to the attitude of the Indian peoples towards this question, there can be no doubt of their unswerving loyalty towards the British Crown, and of their eager desire to see their King-Emperor triumphant in this great War into which he has been so reluctantly driven. And one only has to recall the wave of enthusiasm that swept over India when the Great Queen called on her Indian Army to garrison Malta to realize how gratified India would be if her troops were called upon to hold Egypt and outlying parts of the Empire on behalf of the British Crown.

It may seem strange to some who do not understand the Indian peoples to find them so united in loyalty to their present rulers ; but personal devotion to the Sovereign has always been a virtue common to all the castes and creeds

in India. The readiness with which they submit themselves to constituted authority is one of the most striking facts in their complicated history, and it must never be forgotten that the fighting classes of our great Dependency have always followed gladly the "roll of British drum when it summoned them to war." Look at the splendid way the Sikhs and Rajpuths fought for us along the shores of the Red Sea, far away from their homes, and how splendidly they carried stockade after stockade in the great Burmese War, and how gallantly our Muhammadan forces have stood by us on many a hard-fought field! In short, it may be said of our Army in India that it has never failed to respond promptly and loyally to the faintest call of duty.

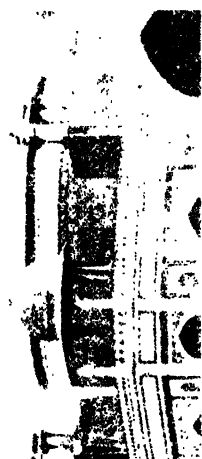
The Army is drawn from the masses of the people, and the masses are proud of their sons who fight the battles of the "Sarkar," and in many a remote village in India the tale is told how the sons of the soil helped the English to roll back the tide of war on the frontiers, and to drive her enemies without the gates.

And if this be true of the masses of the Indian people, how much more true is it of the ruling Chiefs? Look how promptly they have responded whenever the Imperial Government has turned to them for help! It would be almost invidious to mention names, but we may select as a type of such loyalty and devotion H.H. Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior. Britain will never forget how he and Chiefs like him have stood by her side when calamity seemed to threaten or difficulties arose.

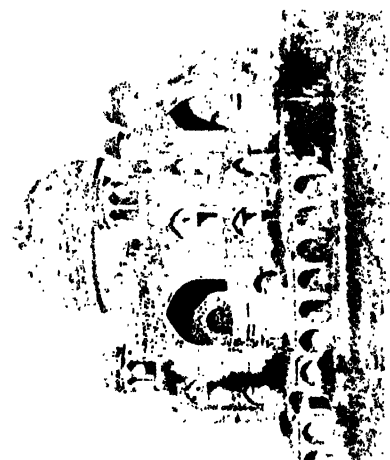
Remembering all this we have no hesitation in recording our opinion that this War, which has been forced upon us and is not of our seeking will bear fruit in stimulating an increased growth of the goodwill and loyalty of the whole of India from the Himalayas to the Sea and from the sands of Baluchistan to the forests of Burma.



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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

*OCTOBER 1, 1914*

## THE GREAT WAR, AND AFTER

FOR a century the British Empire has had the benefit of almost uninterrupted peace. At no period during that time has its existence been menaced, or have its unparalleled military and naval resources been seriously challenged. We have had all that time to build up this great Empire, to insure its commercial prosperity and its national security. We have been accused of carrying out that work in a haphazard and unsatisfactory manner. We have been told that we have blundered into this Empire, and that the best thing we could do was to blunder out of it again. It has been said that we have failed to centralize our vast dominions, to apply to them an adequate system of federalization or a unification of its commercial resources in one vast free trade combine. The German mind especially had regarded this loosely-knit monstrosity with contempt, and had banked on being able to destroy it with facility. These hypothetical calculations have been swept away at the first impact with reality.

We have preferred to impose the will of a central authority on none of the Colonies, but to allow each to work out its own future, we have omitted to impose on them a differentiating tariff in favour of goods from the Motherland, we have made our power a menace to no other nation, we have sowed the seed of goodwill, we have reaped the harvest of gratitude. Even the Boers, who were engaged in a

bitter struggle against us only fifteen years ago, presented a few years later, to the astonishment of the world, with autonomy, have shown their sympathy and their loyalty. The enthusiasm of our Indian subjects is in the mouths of all. We give in another place further testimony of the whole-heartedness and comprehensiveness of that enthusiasm. It is our greatest gratification at the present crisis; it must bring the greatest gratitude when this crisis is over. We know that we are on the brink of a new era in Indian history, and one which the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, to give the old name, has always foretold and unceasingly striven to bring nearer.

We print in this issue a poem written by Dr. John Pollen at a time when our relations with Russia were still unsatisfactory, in which, as our readers will see, he foretells that it is not the Great White Czar, but the Teuton who is our foe. The new alliance in arms of England and Russia spells better days, not only for India, but for the whole Continent of Asia. We know that at the conclusion of this war we shall have no menace to fear from the other side of the great Himalayas, that India, now secure, will be able to turn all her resources to internal reform, and that all the Eastern nations will be able to live in security and peace with their neighbours.

We also publish in this issue an article by Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, who has laboured so indefatigably for the benefit of English influence in the Ottoman dominions. He points out that the German hold over Turkey is nothing more than a low intrigue, that it is a Germanized clique which, for the moment, though, as we are profoundly convinced, for the moment only, exert a pressure on Turkish Foreign Policy. The ASIATIC REVIEW has always been a true sympathizer with Turkey. In the past, the able pen of Professor Vambéry has contributed many articles on behalf of our Ottoman friend, and, turning to more recent times, we have upheld the Turkish cause in the dark hours of Lulu Burgas and Kirk Kilisse. When almost the entire English Press definitely took

sides against the Turks, we opened our columns to their grievances, and our hearts to their troubles. We felt that ever since Italy took Tripoli, Turkey had been maltreated, libelled and misrepresented. Well might the Turkish nation after these unparalleled disasters which menaced her very existence have asked herself whether the influence of a Bieberstein had not been a curse, and ineffective German guns a delusion. The advice of the Allies to Turkey at the present juncture not to adopt a policy of adventure was absolutely disinterested, and we feel sure that the will of the Turks themselves is opposed to any such course. We believe that the Turk is at heart an honest, manly and peaceable gentleman. We are convinced that in embarking on war now they would be committing the greatest crime against their own nation. We hold out to them the hope that by a policy of moderation now they will be able to share in the era of peace and prosperity which will follow this war.

The active co-operation of the forces of the Mikado in this war is another proof that East and West can combine in removing forces which are calculated to substitute repression for liberty. The action of Japan insures the peaceful development of the Eastern coasts of Asia by the removal of the one stumbling-block which threatened the realization of that idea. In future Russia, Japan and China will combine to regulate the commerce in that quarter.

The causes and the occasion for this war are known to us all. We must see to it that its ultimate results are a triumph for liberty. We have entered into this war to break up a military caste. Then let us see to it that in future there will no longer be the domination of that militarism, or any outrage against the principle of nationality. Many crimes have been committed in its name in the past, but the Governments of the nations of the world must now realize that any transgression of the true application of that principle can have no permanency. But the Prussians are a direct menace to that principle. They have had their place





in the sun, but they have turned it into a twilight. They have been asked for bread by their victims, but they have invariably given a stone. Every means of civil life has been turned by them to military ends. They have prepared for "the day of reckoning" with Britain. They wanted it later; it has come sooner. They want to Prussianize the world; their policy is the very contradiction of liberty and the antithesis of human happiness; but their greatest crime is against their own nation and their fellow Germans, whom they are sending to their death, and sacrificing like pawns on a chessboard. This spirit must be broken, and we look for the co-operation of the Germans themselves in order to achieve that object. We applaud the triumphs of German scientific research and their literary achievements; we deplore that the great talent of this great nation has, in time of peace, been turned to the preparation for war, and in time of war squandered and sacrificed on the altar of Prussian militarism. We profoundly hope that the Germans will free themselves from this virus, and in future be able to co-operate with the rest of the world in working to make it a better place to live in. But we cannot stop until that result has been achieved, for without it we should only be entering, after an artificial peace, into a prolonged era of armaments which would make all hopes of social reform vain, and would cut at the very root of civilization. The East has realized that as clearly as the West. Let the German people realize it also. "*Ex oriente lux, ex occidente lex,*" so runs the motto of the ASIATIC REVIEW. East and West have joined hands to secure the deliverance of the world.

## THE WAR AND THE MIGHTY VOICE OF INDIA

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

AT no period or crisis in history has India ever spoken with so unanimous or so mighty a voice as that in which she has expressed her passionate loyalty to the King Emperor at this crisis, her warm approval of the noble motives that have driven the British Empire into this terrible war of nations, and her enthusiastic desire that her gallant sons should stand shoulder to shoulder with the other members of the Imperial Family in the defence of liberty and right, and for the curbing, and ultimately the crushing, of the arrogant military despotism that Prussian soldiers would impose on the world. That India should thus spontaneously assert her right to take an honoured place among the sister-States of the Empire, and voluntarily demand to share the responsibilities as well as the privileges of that place---moved thereto by her own self-respect and by her consciousness of her own interests and dignity, no less than by her loyalty and her sense of justice---is an event of the highest political significance. I trust and believe that it marks the beginning of a new era in our Imperial relations---the era of mutual confidence and support, that was foreseen and longed for by Beaconsfield and Lytton, that was heralded by Lord Morley and Lord Minto, and that has, I hope, been inaugurated by Lord

Crewe and Lord Hardinge in frankly accepting the proffered military aid of the Indian Princes and peoples.

The absolute spontaneity of the Indian uprising—showing, as the eminent editor of the *Wednesday Review* well puts it in his issue of August 19, that “perhaps for the first time since the British connection the people and the Princes of India are realizing that larger loyalty which they owe as citizens of the Empire”—was clearly indicated in the telegrams that first told us of the local patriotic meetings being held in every district of India. But since then we have received the files of the purely Indian Press, and they tell the same story for every corner of every province. I have quoted the *Wednesday Review* of Trichinopoly in the Madras Presidency; and the *Hindu* of Madras City, perhaps the most influential of the purely Indian papers, says much the same thing. In Bengal, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea’s *Bengalee* says:

“In the presence of a common enemy, be it Germany or any other Power, we sink our differences, we forget our little quarrels, and close our ranks, and offer all that we possess in defence of the great Empire to which we are all so proud to belong, and with which the future prosperity and advancement of our people are bound up.”

In Bombay, the *Jam-e-Jamshid* says:

“This is the time when India should feel it to be her duty to show to the world, to England’s foes and allies alike, how greatly she is attached to her, how stanch and resolute is her devotion to her interests, how ready and willing she is to make any sacrifice she can in men and treasure for the defence of her possessions and the assertion of her honour and dignity.”

In the United Provinces the *Advocate* of Lucknow says:

“Now that England is at war with a foreign enemy, she may absolutely depend upon the loyalty of the

people of this country. . . . They are fully prepared at this crisis to place their resources at the disposal of the authorities in defence of their country."

In Behar and Orissa, the *Beharce* of Bankipore says :

"We are sure we echo the sentiment common to the people of the country when we say we are deeply beholden to His Excellency Lord Hardinge for the timely cable to His Majesty that the loyalty of every man in India might be thoroughly relied on in the event of war. India's fortunes are indissolubly linked up with those of England."

In the Punjab, the *Tribune* of Lahore says that, to the question, "What is the attitude of Indians in the face of this unparalleled crisis?" there is but one answer, "and that answer is given by all without a moment's hesitation : it is one of passive and trustful loyalty to the person and throne of the Sovereign."

And in Eastern Bengal, now reunited to Bengal Proper, the *Herald* of Dacca says :

"If the loyal meetings which are being held all over the country do nothing else, they will at least give the enemy to understand that Britain does not stand alone in the fight . . . that the vast people of an Empire on which the sun never sets stand behind her like one man, ready to place at her disposal the last gun, the last man and the last penny they possess."

Nearly all the papers I have here quoted are known as advanced organs—indeed, they are quoted by the official organ of the National Indian Congress. And so, coming as they do from every province of India, they prove beyond question that this great tidal wave of loyal affection towards the Empire is at once spontaneous and unanimous throughout the country—and that it is shared in, not only by the Princes and nobles and aristocracy, not only by all the great fighting races of Upper and Central India

and the Frontier; but also by all the educated classes every where.

Hardly less notable are the eager and enthusiastic offers, from practically the whole of the 700 ruling Chiefs and Princes of India, tendering to His Majesty the King Emperor their swords, their troops, their resources and, if necessary, their lives. We have heard much of the troops of the Kings of Bavaria and Saxony who are marching under the Kaiser—but the Maharaja of Jodhpur, the young Rajput Prince who is coming with his uncle, that Bayard of Indian chivalry the Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh, to lead his troops against the Germans, is the ruler of a territory bigger than Bavaria and Saxony put together!—and his ancestors were Emperors of Kanauj, ruling a territory bigger than the German Empire, centuries before the Hohenzollerns were heard of as petty Counts of the Holy Roman Empire! The Maharaja of Jodhpur, according to Hindu reckoning, yields precedence to the Maharana of Udaipur, as also does the Maharaja of Jaipur—but that is mainly because Jodhpur and Jaipur condescended to allow their Princesses to become the consorts of the Mughal Emperors Akbar and Jehangir, while Udaipur indignantly refused any such marriages.

What could be more thrilling than the soldierly message of the Maharaja of Rewa to the Viceroy: "What orders from His Majesty for me and my troops?" And this Maharaja, the Chief of the Baghel Rajputs and representative of the ancient "Sons of Fire" (*Agnikula*), whose ancestors have reigned in Baghelkhand since before the time of the Norman Conquest, is the ruler of a territory just equal to the German kingdoms of Saxony and Würtemberg combined.

The young Nizam of Hyderabad, the premier Prince of the Indian Empire, who has offered all his resources, is a lineal descendant of the first Caliph, the successor of the Prophet, and he rules a territory three times as big as Bavaria and more than twice as populous. And another









great Muhammadan Prince, the heir-apparent of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, who is coming now to the war at the head of the Bhopal contingent, is a descendant of the famous Dost Muhammad Khan, the Afghan commander of one of Aurangzeb's armies.

The magnificent contribution to the Imperial war chest given by the Maharaja of Mysore—no less than fifty lakhs, or one-third of a million sterling—was loudly cheered by His Highness's many friends in the House of Lords. The Maharaja is one of the most loyal and powerful rulers in India, and one who has given his subjects a considerable instalment of representative government; he rules a territory larger than the combined area of the German kingdoms of Würtemberg and Saxony and the Grand Duchy of Baden, and a population larger than that of Bavaria and Hesse put together.

In enumerating some of the great Princes who are coming to the war in person, in company with the Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh and the Maharaja of Jodhpur, the *Times* aptly speaks of "the knightly figure of the Maharaja of Bikanir, and the young Maharaja of Patiala, the head of the Sikhs." The Maharaja of Bikanir is a Rahtor Rajput, the head of a junior branch of the illustrious dynasty of Jodhpur; his territory is larger than the combined area of Saxony, Würtemberg, and Baden, and his famous Camel Corps has seen service in many a field, and is the admiration of the world.

It is impossible for me in this place to enumerate all the gallant chiefs who are arming for the fray. And those Anglo-Indians like myself who have seen much of the chivalry and martial ardour of the Indian troops—especially the Rajputs, the Gurkhas (of whom no fewer than seven battalions are coming), the Sikhs, and the Pathans—are grateful to Lord Curzon for the admirable description he gave of their splendid military qualities in his speech at Hull on September 7. We would like, as Lord Curzon said, to see the Indian Cavalry charge the German Uhlans.

We would like to see the sturdy little Gurkhas, with their dangerous *kukris*, giving the modern Huns a taste of cold steel. And, unlike the Huns, they all have a spirit of the highest chivalry; as Lord Curzon says, "They would not fire on the Red Cross badge; they would not murder innocent women and children; they would not bombard Christian cathedrals even if to them they were the fanes of an alien faith. The East is sending out a civilized soldiery to save Europe from the modern Huns."

And as they will be chivalrous to the weak and the conquered, so will they be terrible to the relentless enemy. It will be theirs—*Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos*. The spirit in which they will meet the Germans may be well illustrated by a capital story of that grand soldier the Maharaja Sir Pertab Singh, told by Sir Valentine Chirol in the course of a letter to the *Times*. Sir Valentine writes :

"One minor point is also worth remembering when our Indian troops come into contact with the Germans. They have never forgotten the insolence of the German contingent in China in 1900, whose favourite amusement was to jeer at them as 'coolies.' Even so gallant a gentleman as old Sir Pertab Singh was spared no indignity that could be safely inflicted upon him by the German headquarters under Field-Marshal von Waldersee. I happened to be in camp with him at Bikanir a couple of years ago, when the former German Ambassador in London, Count Wolff Metternich, arrived as a somewhat unwelcome guest, and I remember how the inborn courtesy of the great Rajput Prince was strained to the uttermost to repress the bitter memories of those days in Peking. As he put it in his quaint English, 'I like meet German on horseback, sword in hand, not *salaam* in drawing-room. Show him then Rajput no coolie.'"

Knowing what a charge of Rajput cavalry is like, I pity the unfortunate German Uhlans who get in their way.

When we come to the more official classes of India—the rural aristocracy, and the higher professional classes who represent the people in the Legislative Councils—their unanimity and enthusiasm is not less remarkable than that of the Princes and ruling chiefs. The meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla on September 8 was an event of first-class historic importance, if only for the reading by the Viceroy of His Majesty the King's message to "the Princes and Peoples of my Indian Empire," and the marvellous reception of its words of thrilling eloquence by the Indian representatives. Our dear King's words always come from the heart, and their ring is always that of sincerity and truth, and perhaps never more obviously so than in this inspiring message. Not only on the great occasion of the Coronation, but also throughout the repeated visits to India of their Majesties—whether as Prince and Princess of Wales, or as King Emperor and Queen Empress—the warmth of their affection for their Indian subjects, and the enthusiastic love and loyalty with which it is reciprocated throughout India, have always been manifest. When Lord Hardinge's account of this striking scene in the Council Chamber was read in the House of Commons by the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Bonar Law immediately rose to ask, on behalf of the Opposition, that the wonderful narrative should be at once circulated throughout the Empire, and indeed throughout the civilized world. As Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu well observes in a letter to the *Times* of September 12 :

"As an Indian who came over to this country only temporarily as a delegate of the Indian National Congress, I read this morning the message of our beloved Viceroy of India's loyalty and India's co-operation in this great crisis of our life with tears in my eyes. Our Indian sun stirs our blood to strong emotions. We feel grateful to Mr. Bonar Law for his suggestion that this message should be published to the world, and may I add that Indian women have not only cheer-

fully parted with their sons, husbands, and brothers at the call of the King, but I have received communications from India that many of them who are too humble to make their offer to the Viceroy are willing, if need be, to part with their personal jewellery and ornaments, things which in India constitute the women's insurance fund, as they did in bygone times when religion or honour was in danger."

The Viceroy, after reading the King's gracious message, addressed the Imperial Council in a stirring speech, in the course of which he declared that :

"Countless meetings, and the warm response to the appeal for relief funds, filled him with satisfaction, and confirmed the impression that the Government would be supported by the determination, the courage, and the endurance of the whole country. It was with confidence and pride that he was able to offer to His Majesty the finest and largest force of British and Indian troops for service in Europe that had ever left the shores of India."

And thereon, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, as the leader of the Indian members of the Council, moved in eloquent terms a Resolution "voicing the feeling that animates the whole of the people of India," that expressed "their feelings of unswerving loyalty and enthusiastic devotion to their King Emperor, and an assurance of their unflinching support to the British Government." The resolution was seconded by the Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Khan of Mahmudabad, supported by every one of the non-official members, including such great notables as the Sardar Daljit Singh of the Punjab, the Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of the United Provinces, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy of Bombay, Mr. Ghaznavi, the representative of the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea of Bengal Proper, and carried unanimously with the greatest enthusiasm.

I have already mentioned the fact that this great policy of trust in the Princes and peoples of India, and of reliance on them to take their proper position in the military defence of the Empire, was initiated by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Lytton—and of this I have some personal knowledge which I should like to place on public record.

In the spring of 1878, when the Treaty of San Stefano was concluded between Russia and Turkey, Lord Beaconsfield demanded that the terms of that Treaty should be revised by a Conference of the Great Powers. When that demand was not complied with, he at once, on April 8, called out our Reserve Forces, and sent the British Fleet to the Dardanelles. Even these measures did not produce the desired effect. Thereon Lord Beaconsfield, with the hearty concurrence of the Viceroy, brought a powerful division of Indian troops to Malta—the diplomatic situation was cleared as if by magic, and early in June, Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury went out as the British plenipotentiaries to the Congress of Berlin—and on July 15 they returned to London amid the frantic applause of the English people, bringing with them “Peace with Honour” in the Treaty of Berlin. But though the policy of calling in the military aid of our Indian fellow-subjects was so eminently successful from the diplomatic point of view, it was hotly contested by some of Lord Beaconsfield’s political opponents on constitutional or sentimental grounds. My old friend, Professor Chenery, the eminent Orientalist, was at that time editor of the *Times*, and warmly supported the Beaconsfield policy—and as I was then the Press Commissioner of India, and necessarily familiar with all the *minutiae* of the question, he asked me if I would endeavour to obtain the permission of the Government to undertake its defence in the columns of the *Times*. Lord Lytton gladly gave his permission and obtained that of Lord Beaconsfield.

The objections to that policy were of a twofold character, constitutional and sentimental. The constitutional objection was really a survival of the old Whig dread of

a standing army in England, as liable to be used by the Sovereign to subvert the liberties of the people. The extreme Radicals who held this view had hotly opposed the assumption of the Imperial title in India by Queen Victoria, on the ground that the Empress of India might endeavour to impose Cæsarism—or, as we should now say, Kaiserism—on the people of Great Britain! And so, in 1878, they opposed the legitimate use of Indian troops in the Mediterranean, lest Queen Victoria should bring them to England to set up a despotism! Now, only thirty-six years later, I suppose no one out of Bedlam would support such a preposterous objection.

The sentimental objection of the extreme Radicals was founded on simple and abysmal ignorance of India and Indian chivalry. They called all Indians “Natives,” and their idea of a “Native” was something between Man Friday and the South Sea gentlemen who in those days used to eat missionaries. They declared that we wished to bring into civilized European warfare savages worse than the old “Red Indians” of Cooper’s novels. Since then, some Radicals have travelled in India—and even “Padgett, M.P.” himself would now confess that it would be a gross insult to compare the Indian Army with the modern Huns who have been committing their atrocities in Belgium and at Rheims.

And now that the policy of Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Lytton has been finally and definitely adopted by Lord Crewe and Lord Hardinge, what are the results that we may reasonably hope for?

Well, Lord Hardinge, in his sympathetic speech to the Imperial Council at Simla on September 8, indicated a very important one, that is very near the heart of every well-wisher of the Empire. When the gallant troops that are hastening to our aid from every one of the self-governing Dominions have fought side by side and shoulder to shoulder with the equally gallant troops from India, they will surely see, as we Anglo-Indians see, the utter absurdity, as well as

the monstrous injustice, of regarding our Indian fellow-subjects askance as if they belonged to an inferior race. And in this way I think we may all hope, as Lord Hardinge hopes, that one of the most difficult and distressing of our Imperial problems may yield, as the Viceroy said, to "fair and generous treatment on both sides." Both the Colonies and India have a right to maintain each their own views, and even their own prejudices, in their own lands; but fuller knowledge and closer comradeship will take all the bitterness out of those views and those prejudices.

Then, too, the old foolish ideas about "Natives" must surely be altogether abandoned. As Lord Curzon said at Hull on September 7, the Indian troops are "not inferior to, but in some respects the most efficient of, the whole army." The martial spirit in India is traditional and famous." And he added that "it would be an act of folly to refrain from using such troops" wherever the Empire calls them and they desire to go.

And again—large bodies of Indian Chiefs, Indian officers and Indian soldiers will be brought into close contact with Englishmen, with Frenchmen, with Russians, with Germans and with people of the other European nationalities. It may confidently be hoped and believed that they will carry back with them to India an even stronger affection than that which they already feel for the civilization and the race with whose fortunes their own fortunes have been so closely linked by Divine Providence. They will recognize more closely than ever that they are "citizens of no mean city," and that the Empire of which their own country forms so important and prosperous a section is one to be thankful for, and to be proud of, in no stinted measure.

## ENGLAND, RUSSIA. AND INDIA

WE print below lines written by Dr. J. Pollen on leaving Russia in 1891 :

Russia, farewell ! ere leaving thee  
 I learned to love thy much-wronged race,  
 Thy misread Past aright to see,  
 Thy glorious Destiny to trace,  
 To know thee as thou truly art  
 (Whate'er thy slanderous Foes may bawl),  
 A people great, with kindly heart,  
 Helping the hurt, forgiving all.  
 Alone against Napoleon's pride,  
 When Europe groaned beneath his sway,  
 Didst thou arise, and roll the tide  
 Of conquest back, and hold thy way  
 Till thy victorious banners flew  
 Across the sunny vines of France,  
 And well the streets of Paris knew  
 Thy Cossacks' and thy Uhlans' lance.  
 When jealous Europe 'gainst thee strove,  
 How nobly didst thou stand at bay !  
 And Sebastópol's Heights can prove  
 How brave thou wast in trial's day !  
 And all that woe against thee wrought  
 Thou hast in full forgiven, forgot ;  
 The Foes who then against thee fought,  
 As Foes are now regarded not.

\* \* \* \* \*

Then, England, pause ! know friend from foe !  
 Where, when, has Russia crossed thy path ?  
 That she doth ever greater grow—  
 This seems the greatest fault she hath.



In truth, the "Teuton" is thy foe !  
Thy rival he, in every field ;  
His power thy Court—thy Councils—know,  
Thy Commerce nought from him can shield ;  
His Princes lead thy Daughters forth  
Dowered deep in dowers of English gold ;  
His merchant vessels sweep thy North ;  
Thy "silver streak" his Warships hold.  
He threatens thee on every side ;  
While thou dost bend to him and yield,  
Surrendering to his growing pride  
The best of thy Colonial field.  
He stirs the Russ against thy power—  
Pointing to plains of Hindustan—  
Hoping to stay the dreaded hour  
When France will meet him, man to man.

\* \* \* \* \*

But why should England cross the Russ ?  
We both have kindred work to do !  
Asia is wide ; for him, for us,  
There's space to spare, with high aims too.  
Redeem the cradle of our race,  
Let Commerce circle everywhere !  
Let Love regain its pride of place,  
Let Eden once more blossom there !  
Let "great white Czar," let "great white Queen,"  
Stretch forth o'er Asia healing hands,  
Touching the sere leaf into green,  
Blessing with bloom the barren lands.

\* \* \* \* \*

England and Russia—friendly Powers !  
India secure, and strong and free—  
Over the West no war-cloud lowers—  
The East regains its liberty.

J. POLLEN.

## THE BRITISH INDIAN ARMY IN EUROPE

Two months ago few of the citizens of the British Empire had any inkling that one of the greatest, if not the greatest, war that history has recorded was imminent. The proof which we now—now that our eyes are opened—possess that the innermost circle of His Majesty's Government knew what was boding is that great Naval Review which, in the month of July, was suddenly and unexpectedly announced as shortly to take place. Normally, Naval Reviews are preluded by ample notice. This one burst upon us. Yet we took it as a matter of course, scarce troubling our minds to reflect upon what it possibly foreboded. For this masterly stroke of mobilization, carried out, if report be true, against the more timorous counsels of the rest of the Cabinet, we are indebted to the First Lord of the Admiralty. All honour to him. Rightly was he greeted when he stood on the platform at the Guildhall beside Messrs. Asquith, Law, and Balfour, with enthusiastic expressions of the public regard. A strange coincidence, we had thought, that Naval Review on the eve of Austria's ultimatum to Servia! There was more method in it than one surmised at the moment. To this promptness and decision of action the French and Belgian coasts owe immunity from naval attack, the Allies are indebted for the ability to transport troops as they please, and Great Britain herself owns a free passage through the

Suez Canal and the Mediterranean for that powerful Indian contingent which, doubtless ere this, has disembarked on the shores of France.\* There have been moments during the past month when it has seemed as though the great daring and ruthless ambition of the Kaiser were threatening to crown themselves and him with success. But now, when the tide of battle is turning in the North of France, when the loyal soldiery of the Overseas Dominions and the great Dependencies of the Crown have reached the theatre of war, and when Russian troops press forward from the East to meet the Allies advancing from the West, we begin to understand, almost to sympathize with, the feeling to which the late German Ambassador is said to have given expression as he left Carlton House Terrace: "I am a ruined man." Will it be any consolation to him that his Master and his Empire will share his ruin?

To the British nation, with a heart already gladdened by the success of the last few days, is now proclaimed the noble effort which the Viceroy and his Council and the Indian Princes and people of India have made to support the British Realm in the momentous struggle to which the unscrupulous ambition of the Kaiser has committed it. The despatch of 70,000 men to Europe means a very vital contribution towards the successful issue of the war. We welcome them the more in that they come, not at the moment when the fortunes of the Allies were on the wane, but in the hour when the combined armies of Great Britain and France, supported by game little Belgium, have commenced to press the Teuton back on to his own soil. It is more congenial to our thought that the brave Pathan, Panjabi, Baluch, Sikh, Rajput, and Gurkha should range up alongside, when with bayonet and bullet, sabre and shell, we are pushing the foe before us, than that they should arrive to change a retirement into an advance. We reflect with sorrowful, almost bitter thoughts, on the

\* Mr. Asquith announced at Dublin on September 25 that the first contingent of Indian troops was due to land at Marseilles that day.

terrible losses borne by the Yorkshire Light Infantry, the Gordon Highlanders, the Munster Fusiliers, the Dorset and Cheshire Regiments, and other corps, but we rejoice that their magnificent example is before the Indian soldier races, to tell them that the Briton who, under Clive, Coote, Lawrence, Dalton and others, made India British in the eighteenth century is still the man he was. We all know that there has been a miserable apprehension on the part of the Indian Government and of the small-minded men who are so often selected to hold high official military or civil appointments, that the native of India should learn that he is as good a man at shooting and games as his more fair-skinned brother.

When I first went to India, rifle matches were open to British and Indian troops combined, and the Poona Musketry Cup had already been won for two successive years by the regiment which I afterwards commanded, the 129th (Duke of Connaught's Own) Baluchis, when out came the order that, at Presidency rifle meetings, British and native troops were to compete separately. That musketry cup never stood on our mess-table, as we had hoped that it would. If the information that has reached me be correct, the 129th Baluchis forms part of the Indian Expeditionary Force.

When British and Indian troops have fought shoulder to shoulder together, there will be no more of this narrowness of spirit—a spirit which, we may be sure, Earl Kitchener never shared, although, when he did offer prizes for the best regiments in the British and Indian armies in India, he conformed to the old-standing and, in that case, convenient custom of making the two armies compete separately. It is extremely fortunate for India and for the Empire that, prior to this crisis, the Commander-in-Chiefship of the Indian Army has passed into the hands of Earl Kitchener's former trusted lieutenant and Chief of the Staff, Sir Beauchamp Duff, an officer still young and competent, and one who knows the Indian Army thoroughly.

We may venture to say that no Indian army despatched from India, and containing in its ranks the *élite* of India's feudal chivalry, would have been complete without Maharajah Sir Pertab Singh, the Regent of Jodhpur. As a *preux chevalier* he stands, and has long stood, foremost amongst Indian princes. We welcome cordially all those Indian chiefs and notables who are his comrades in arms, and we rejoice to know that the Viceroy has, out of the Imperial Service Troops, accepted from twelve States contingents of cavalry, infantry, sappers, and transport, besides the Bikanir Camel Corps. The Punjab and Baluchistan have also, be it noted, offered camels. How these would astonish Europe! We conclude that their destination will be Egypt. It is not for me here to reproduce the despatch of the Viceroy which was read out to the House of Commons on September 9 by the Under Secretary of State for India. The facts given there speak for themselves. We feel that this unanimous response from all parts—from the most remote borders, Kalat, Chitral, Nepal, etc.—of the Indian Empire is a magnificent guarantee of the union between the United Kingdom and India for the future. Our humorists—and let us not take them too seriously—have pointed to the Kaiser as peacemaker between Carson and Redmond. The same worker of miracles—did we know more of his prototype, Attila, or, as Professor Cramb has it, Alaric, we might find him, too, doing good unbeknownst—has made Mr. Tilak stand forth as a loyal subject of the British Raj. We scarce know yet how deep we stand in the Kaiser's debt, but we look forward to acquitting ourselves of our obligations by bringing the Hohenzollern and the Habsburg to their knees; by encompassing Kiel, Wilhelmshaven, and Heligoland with a British fleet by sea, and army by land, and by restoring Schleswig-Holstein, with the Kiel Canal and Heligoland added, to Denmark. If the Duke of Brunswick chooses, it rests with him to be once more the King of Hanover. In this good work we are glad that our brother-soldiers of

the Indian Empire, the men with whom we have fought on the North-West Frontier, in Burma, China, Egypt, Afghanistan, Africa, and Persia, in the fastnesses of the Himalayas and the darkest jungles between the Irrawaddy and the Salween, should again be our comrades. Unquestionably this new experience will open their eyes, and widen their ambition. For some time past the relative position of the British and Indian officer has afforded a crux difficult to solve; and there are other problems—to wit, the relations between the Mussulmans of the British Empire and the Caliphate, and the question of the admission of Indians into the self-governing Colonies—which await solution and settlement. The admission of Indian troops to European warfare sheds a new light on these questions. Those fine soldiers, the Sikhs, are the very men whom Canada has ejected, *vi et armis*; and now, equally *vi et armis*, men of the same race join the Canadians in defence of the Empire. If the result of this war be to overthrow German influence in Turkey, we may hope that, for a time at least, the Pan-Islamic agitation may cease. One of the questions on the Paper for the House of Commons on September 10 was: "What steps are being taken to counteract the organized efforts of Germany to arouse Pan-Islamic feeling against England in India and other British possessions having Muhammadan populations?" The best answer to that question was given in the Viceroy's telegram of September 8, which was read to the House of Commons by the Under Secretary for India on the previous day (9th). Among the communities from which the Viceroy had received offers of service are enumerated: "The All India Moslem League, the Bengal Presidency Moslem League, the Moslem Association of Rangoon, the Trustees of the Aligarh College, the Calcutta and Punjab and Eastern Bengal Moslem Leagues, the Khoja Community and other followers of Agha Khan." Finally, "The Delhi Medical Association offers the field hospital which was sent to Turkey during the Balkan War." These facts will enable

Turkey to realize the trend of Islamic feeling in the British Empire, and the fallacy of supposing that that feeling will lend itself to be the instrument of German intrigue. Add to these the message sent by the committee of the London All India Moslem League to the Indian troops, as published in the *Times* of September 9, a word of caution to Turkey being at the same time added.

It has gone to the heart of many of us to picture the intensity of the struggle which our gallant army maintained against an overwhelming force of Germans from the 23rd to the 26th of August. In the first list of casualties published the heavy loss suffered by the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry was very much in evidence—viz., eleven officers killed, three missing, two wounded. From the pen of one of those killed had emanated in August, when his regiment was on the eve of sailing from Dublin to Havre, a remarkable article entitled "Moral Qualities in War," to which the editor of *Blackwood* very justly, in view of its high merit, accorded the foremost place in the September number. It is a singularly fine bit of writing, and, in passages, prophetic. After relating two stories of Japanese self-sacrifice and devotion (the writer served through the siege of Port Arthur and spent some years in Japan), he concludes his article with these words: "This is the spirit in which soldiers must go forth to fight. Not dreaming of the home-coming, the medal, the battle. These are distant and problematical. Nearer and more probable are the enemy and the tomb. '*Few, few shall part where many meet.*'" The *Times* of September 17 pays, as the mouthpiece of the editor of *Blackwood*, a high tribute to the writer.

This article in *Blackwood* left on my mind the feeling that the man who wrote it wrote, as it were, under the spell of a coming destiny. Happily the destiny was not fulfilled to the letter. If the words "Exegit monumentum, ære perennius" seem to lift our thoughts to some degree of sublimity, the sublime was not absent from that which

might have proved to be a parting message.\* In the noble deaths of many gallant officers and men who fell when the Germans, outnumbering them five to one, pressed them back on Paris, our Indian comrades have an example which they may equal but cannot surpass. It has probably escaped the memory of most people to-day that in 1900, during the relief of Peking, the German troops under Field Marshal von Waldersee treated the natives of India with studied insolence. Sir Pertab Singh will not have forgotten that, and we can hardly doubt that those who served in the International Force which relieved and occupied Peking will have told their comrades in arms now ordered to Europe that there is an old score to be wiped out. At that time I was employed at the War Office, and was charged with the record of the Boxer outbreak, and the scant sympathy that existed between Sir Alfred Gaselee's contingent and the Germans, and the absolute hatred felt by the Japanese for the German, remain imprinted on my mind. German, and more especially Prussian, "insolence" has, since 1870, been the theme of conversation of all Europe. Asia now, as well as Europe, rises to chastise that "insolence."

Of those Indian soldiers who are now coming to Europe there are few or none whose forbears have not been our opponents in the battlefield. A century has elapsed since Sir David Ochterlony led our troops against the Gurkhas of Nepal; with the Pathans we have been at war incessantly since 1838; the Sikhs came under our sway in 1849, and brought with them all the heterogeneous fighting races of the valleys of the Five Rivers; the Baluchis succumbed to Sir Charles Napier in 1843, and he it was who, between 1844 and 1846, raised the originals of the Baluch regiments which are still numbered among those of the Indian army, but have scarce a Baluch in them. As to the Rajputs, there is reason to believe that they passed

\* On September 15 it was known that the writer, reported "killed" on September 3, was alive and a prisoner in the citadel at Magdeburg.



more peacefully under the British rule, unless, indeed, we may count the dynasty and people of Bhartpur as Rajput. In the days of Lake and Wellington it was the Mahratta who held sway from Sattara in the south almost to the confines of Delhi. Holkar, Scindia, and the Peshwa, whether with their own Mahrattas or with the levies trained by European adventurers, such as De Boigne, Reinhardt, George Thomas, Perron, Skinner, and Gardner, long contended with the British for the succession to the dying Mogul power. It would seem as though the restless, turbulent spirit of the Mahratta of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries were dead. The Mahratta no longer enlists. Yet to Lake and Wellington he was a formidable foe, and the name of Sivaji still recalls daring exploits which might rival those of a Drake, a Raleigh, or a Jack Sheppard. The ordinary Englishman sums up in the ungeneric term "Gurkha" the whole of the fighting classes of India; whilst even a statesman and ex-Viceroy like Lord Curzon perpetrates an anachronism by saying he would like to see "the Bengal Cavalry" charge. As his lordship knows, even in his day, no Presidential army any longer existed; and under Lord Kitchener the entire Indian native army was renumbered without reference to class or country. The expression "Bengal Cavalry" is to-day unknown. It is all "Indian Cavalry." In the infantry the Indian Army List still distinguishes Pathans, Punjabis, Sikhs, Baluchis, Gurkhas, and Rajputs.

These Asiatic races have learned some familiarity with the streets and environs of London; but to them Paris and Brussels, Berlin and Vienna, will be a new experience. Shall we see them encamped in the Prater and the Unter den Linden? Will these swarthy visages strengthen the hands of the British plenipotentiaries to whom is entrusted the repartition of Europe? If the Paris of 1815 saw the Croat and the Cossack, will the Berlin of 1915 see the Sikh and the Pathan? The Kaiser will then realize the depth of his own folly. The one thing

that has undoubtedly, perhaps more than anything else, impelled him to risk a war with England has been Germany's need of Colonial expansion. No. 85 of the White Book (correspondence regarding the European Crisis), No. 6 of 1914 makes it plain that Germany fully intended, if victorious, to annex all the French Colonies. The issue of this war will probably be the annexation by Great Britain of every German colony, those of the Pacific being handed over to the Australian Commonwealth or to New Zealand, and those of Africa to our several African Protectorates; and Germany will continue, in the words of Professor Cramb, to "export her surplus energy to America, to England and to other alien lands, and to bequeath the worth and valour of her best and most enterprising citizens to those nations who may be alternately Germany's deadliest enemies." *Vae Victis!*

The Indian Expeditionary Force gives the Indian Branch of the St. John Ambulance Association its first notable opportunity for proving its value. In 1901, under the auspices of the late Viscount Knutsford, the organization and establishment of this important institution began, and until 1905 was entrusted to me, as Honorary Organizing Commissioner of the St. John Ambulance Association for India. Under Lord Curzon's orders, a Committee, of which Lord Kitchener was Chairman, took over charge from me at Calcutta on March 31, 1905. As is generally known, the Indian Branch is now a widespread and powerful organization. On August 13 last its Committee met at Simla to devise measures for the ambulance service of the Indian Expeditionary Force. The Indian Branch now promises to justify the eulogium pronounced upon it by Viscount Knutsford in the House of Lords on July 11, 1910.

A. C. YATE.

## THE OPENING OF THE EASTERN CAMPAIGN

BY E. CHARLES VIVIAN

IN order to grasp clearly the significance of the Austro-German campaign against Russia, it is necessary first to understand the nature of the aims of the Germanic Powers. It was necessary, in the German scheme of things, that France should be crushed down to the position of a second-rate Power, and, since England intervened, it was also necessary that England should share the fate of France. These two nations were to be reduced to such an extent that neither should ever exhibit rivalry with the German schemes of military and naval expansion. They were neither to be annihilated nor made tributary States, but were to stand as weak, second-rate Powers, useful for the consumption of German products, and consenting, perforce, to German plans and ideals.

With Russia the case was different. The configuration and extent of Russia, combined with its vast resources, rendered, and will always render, the reduction of Russia from first to second-class standing an impossibility, and German ambition has always recognized this fact. Invasion, even to the occupation of Moscow, has been proved futile, and the occupation of Petrograd would not touch Russian power to any appreciable extent; the tremendous military resources of the great Slavonic Empire would only increase as an

invading army penetrated into its territory, and any attempt at crushing Russia would lead to inevitable defeat. In simple terms, the German plan was to crush France, and incidentally England, that Russia might see them no longer as desirable allies. In the meantime the German and Austrian forces on the western Russian frontiers were to demonstrate to Russia the impossibility of penetrating into either German or Austrian territory with any lasting success. In this connection the Russian operations in East Prussia have admirably fulfilled German intentions. A Russian force has advanced—prematurely, as the event has proved—into East Prussia, and at the outset this force achieved considerable successes. German reinforcements, however, have driven back Rennenkampf's cossacks on to their main body, and that in turn has proved unable to withstand the attacks of the reinforced German troops, who have driven back the Russians until the country of the Masur lakes is practically in German hands again at the time of writing. This has been accomplished by taking over troops from the French area of battle, and the French area alone prevents Germany rendering its eastern frontier invulnerable against Russian attacks. Had the French campaign been ended in six or seven weeks, as according to German calculations it ought to have been, and had the Austrian forces been as well able to stand against Russian attacks as the Germans in East Prussia, Russia would have found invasion of German and Austrian territories a futile business, and, after half a dozen or so of attempts and failures, would have found the business too costly both in lives and money. There would, according to German plans, have been an agreement between Russia on the one side, and the Teutonic Governments on the other, to pursue the ideal of world-power, unhampered by the crippled French and frightened English. For a consideration, Russia was to acquiesce in the expansion of which Germany dreamed; not because this was congenial to Russian plans, but because the German and Austrian Powers would be too strong to

quarrel with. All the German and Austrian action was to take the form of blocking Russian invasions. Poland, that peninsula encircled by German and Austrian frontiers, would, of course, have become Teutonic territory, but, for the rest, Russia would have been left untouched, and become a partner in a new triple or quadruple alliance—Italy being the possible fourth partner.

Thus things were to have fallen, according to German plans. It was, in the first place, the resistance of Belgium that saved Europe from the realization of these plans ; later factors in the process of salvation were the co-operation of the English forces with the French, and the unexpected weakness of the Austrian army, both in strategical and tactical dispositions, and in the actual value of the fighting men and their equipment—this last a factor which has played a more important part than most people realize.

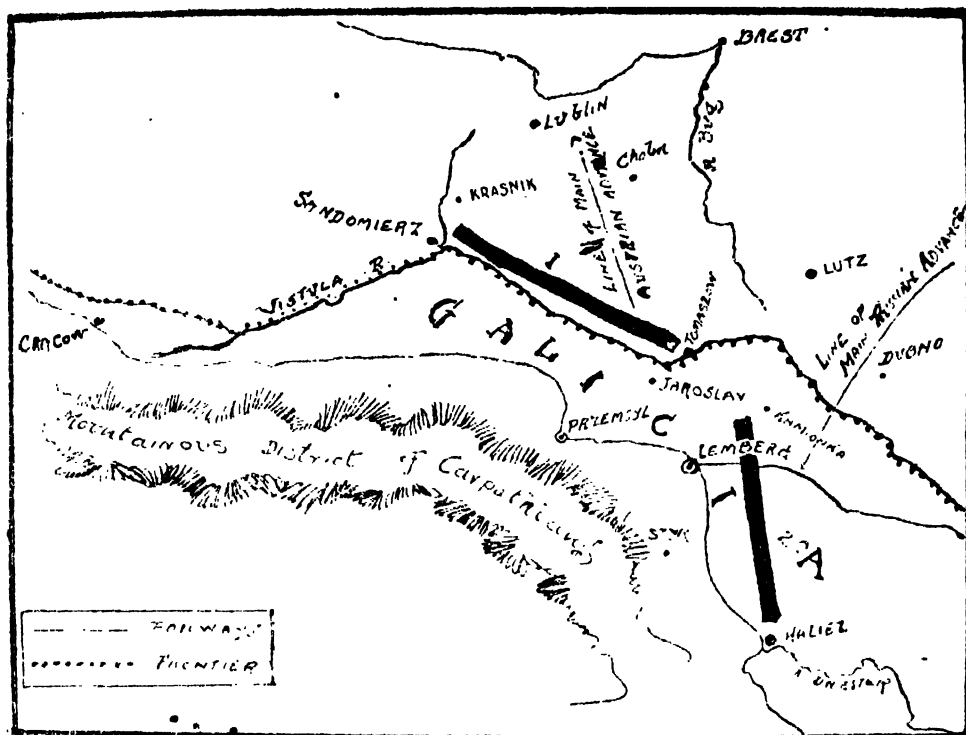
The Russo-German campaign in East Prussia, up to the time of writing, presents no points that call for detailed attention in such a sketch as this ; the Russian advance here has proved premature, and thus has been driven back. Since so many of the German troops are still locked away in grips with the French, this disability to Russia will adjust itself in course of time ; Königsberg will fall, and then Dantzic, and by that time Germany will have to consider the problem of putting Berlin in a state of defence, for the centre and south of the Russian attack will almost inevitably develop more quickly than the morass-choked northern advance.

Of the army of the centre there is little news of importance as yet. This is inevitable, for the configuration of Western Russia is such that a direct advance on Central Germany would be an invitation to disaster. The flanks must be secured, East Prussia masked, and Galicia fully occupied, before the central army can begin its march on Posen in earnest ; otherwise the Russian lines of communication could be cut by flanking German and Austrian forces, and the central Russian army, cut off from its base,

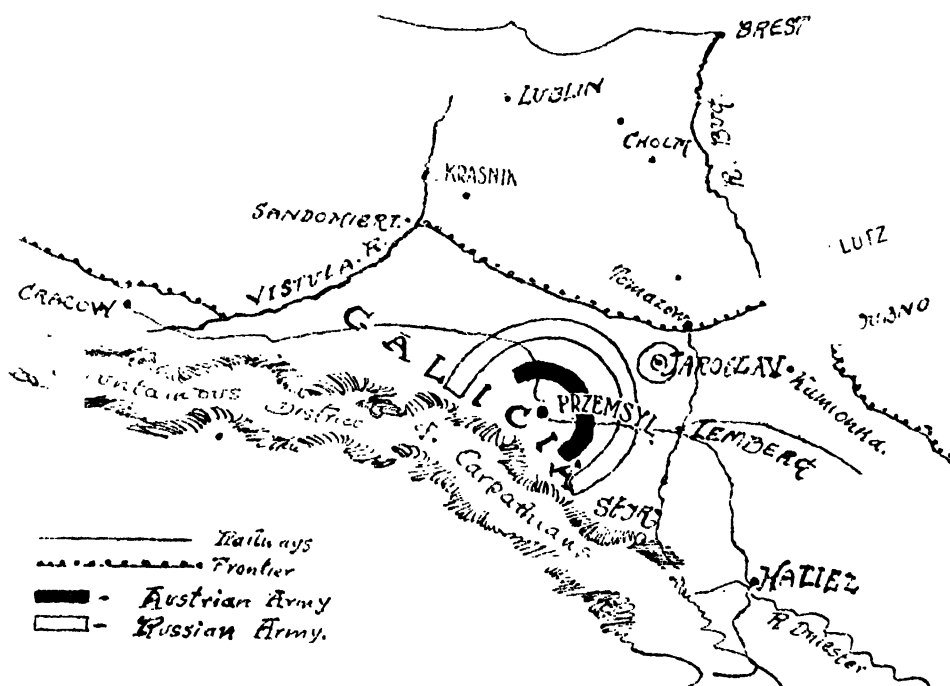
could be either annihilated or forced to surrender. Thus the central army of Russia, facing toward Posen from the district of Warsaw, must possess its soul in patience till Austria is crushed past taking the offensive, and till East Prussia—the German force there—is too busily engaged in defending itself to touch the communications of the main army. In these flanking operations the Russian campaign against Austria is not only the more interesting, but also by far the more important, and an analysis of the failure of Austria to play the part allotted to it in the German scheme of things becomes necessary to comprehension of the Russian offensive now proceeding.

The accompanying sketch-map shows the position at the outset of the Austro-Russian campaign. Excluding the forces engaged in the Servian "punitive expedition," the main body of the Austrian army was divided into two forces, which were placed on the northern slopes of the Carpathians, facing north-eastward, with a view to invading and subjugating Russian Poland, or, at the worst, holding the Austrian frontier. The more advanced, or first, Austrian army, with a front of about eighty miles, was aimed at the Polish Government of Lublin, with its right flank resting on Tomaszow, and its left on Sandomierz. Behind it was Przemyśl, one of the chief fortified places of Austrian Galicia. Its strength, as far as can be ascertained, was nearly half a million men.

The second Austrian army lay almost at right angles to the first, having its right flank based on Halicz, and its left on Kamionka, while Lemberg, which may be termed the Aldershot of Galicia, was the base in its rear. It set out on a north-eastward advance at about the same time that the first army set out. At first the first army was fairly successful; it came up against no insuperable obstacles, and the invasion of Lublin was proceeding just as Austro-German plans meant it to proceed—until the second Austrian army came up against the main body of the Russian attack.



PLAN I.—SHOWING APPROXIMATE POSITION OF MAIN AUSTRIAN ARMIES ON THE RUSSIAN FRONT AT THE OUTSET OF THE EASTERN CAMPAIGN. (NOT DRAWN TO SCALE.)



PLAN II.—SHOWING APPROXIMATE POSITION OF RUSSIAN AND AUSTRIAN MAIN ARMIES OPERATING IN GALICIA ABOUT SEPTEMBER 20, AND ILLUSTRATING THE WAY IN WHICH THE BREAK-UP OF THE SECOND AUSTRIAN ARMY FORCED THE FIRST, OR MAIN ARMY, TO RETREAT ON PRZEMISL. (NOT DRAWN TO SCALE.)

It had never been intended that this second army should sustain the brunt of Russian attack. The placing of the first army demonstrates that it was considered first in importance, and destined to play the leading part; but the admirable strategy of the Russian Staff let this first army advance, and concentrated attention on the second, with the result that Lemberg fell to Russian arms, and the second army was, if not annihilated, thoroughly defeated and broken. By this means a double object was attained. In the first place, Austria was deprived of the important base and all its contents at Lemberg—a stroke of which the moral effect was as great as the actual effect—and the weakness of the Austrian force was thoroughly demonstrated, as well as the rapidity of the Russian striking power. In the second place, the destruction of this first army's effective laid open the flank of the first army to attack, and rendered necessary a reorganization of the whole Austrian plan of campaign.

A glance at the second sketch-map will render this obvious. With the second Austrian army rendered ineffective, the first army can no longer advance forward, since the Russian army is in such a position that, holding Lemberg, it is able to attack Przemyśl and cut off the first Austrian army from its base of supplies, proceeding then to attack the Austrian force in rear.

To ward off this danger, two or three courses were open to the Austrian commander. Out of them he chose to attempt, using his right flank as a pivot, to wheel his force round so as to face toward Lemberg and cut the main Russian line of communication with the Polish bases. It was a daring move. Success would have meant the ultimate envelopment of the Russian forces operating in Austrian Galicia, or, at least, a good part of them. On the other hand, failure meant—well, practically what the event has proved. Russia is very nearly free, at the time of writing, to turn its attention to Germany by way of the rich district of Silesia.



At the time of writing, the downfall of the Austrian military power is not quite complete. Jaroslav is being bombarded by Russian artillery, and, if optimistic reports may be believed, the march on Cracow is just beginning. Przemysl has yet to fall, and it is likely that the siege will last some time, for the Austrian army, which has been driven back on this strong fortress, is likely to make a desperate fight before surrendering—trapped animals bite deeply. Dankl's 150,000 men are said to be surrounded—in any case they have become cut off from the main body of the surviving Austrian forces, and are capable of resistance only, not of attack, while their position, hemmed in by a superior Russian force, is not an enviable one. No matter where one may look in the eastern theatre of war, signs are to be seen of the downfall of Austria as a military Power. The Dual Monarchy has maintained the tradition set up during the last century, and has lost every decisive action in the campaigns against Russia and Servia from the beginning of this war. The military strength of Austria-Hungary was overestimated by itself and its ally, for neither took into account the racial antagonisms that have made the Dual Monarchy a house divided against itself.

We shall see soon—this much of prophecy is safe—the Russian forces in the south-east marching on Cracow and Breslau, with Germany alone as opponent, for the star of Austria has set. While in the western theatre of war the Allies hold their ground—they need not do more than hold on, for the present—the nation that has sown the wind for many years is about to stand utterly alone to face a whirlwind from the east. After eight weeks of war, as was the case after the first German rush on Luxembourg, the work of France and England in the west is to repel rather than to attack, while Russia marches to complete the destruction of militarism among the Germanic races—the task already partly accomplished by the overthrow of Austrian forces. The end, though yet far off, perhaps, is already in sight.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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### DEVELOPMENT OF COTTON IN INDIA : SIND, A SECOND EGYPT

BY T. SUMMERS, C.I.E., D.SC., M.I.C.E.

ONE hears a great deal about Egypt's valuable cotton, and of cotton-growing in Africa and other British dependencies ; but Sind, the greatest and best field for the development of cotton, is still comparatively unknown. In an article on the extension of cotton-growing, in the *Times* of September 22 last, it was stated that "in India and Ceylon the outlook is not encouraging, although it was to India that the industry has looked for the most speedy relief from short supplies."

My object in writing this paper is to do what I can to make this rich province better known, and its great potentialities as a cotton-growing country. Its fertile soil is composed of silt like that of Egypt, and can produce cotton of excellent quality.

Sind, which Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff anticipates is destined to become the "Garden of India," and which another Scotsman, James Burnes (a cousin of Robbie Burns), surgeon to the Residency at Bhuj, called "Little" or "Young Egypt" more than seventy years ago, is capable of producing a million bales of cotton, which will be a considerable addition to India's present crop of five million bales, and also to the world's cotton crop.

## SIND'S FERTILITY

Sind is an alluvial plain, almost every part of which has been swept, during thousands of years, by the River Indus or its branches.

Whenever the river changes its course, it leaves behind it valuable deposits of fertilizing silt, in which cotton and almost any other crop will thrive.

As Egypt's fertility is due to the silt which the Nile has been depositing for thousands of years, so is Sind's great fertility due to the silt of the Indus.

The Indus used to distribute its silty water on the high ridge along which Alexander the Great, in his travels through Sind, sailed with his fleet of boats, and on which the Rohri Canal will flow (Fig. 1). Distinct traces of old canals can be seen on this highland. One of them, I found, had been 80 feet wide at its bed, 15 feet deep, and about 150 feet wide at its water-surface.

As showing that a higher state of civilization existed in Sind, it is interesting to note that these ancient canals were straighter than the canals made in more recent years. Judging by the large quantities of burnt bricks still lying about, the houses along their banks had been built of kiln-burnt bricks, while those of the present time are nearly all built of sun-dried bricks.

## THE INDUS RIVER

Sind may be compared to a great gold-field which has been lying uncared-for and unworked for ages; but few gold-fields contain such wealth as can easily be obtained from her fertile soil.

The Indus brings to her door—

- (a) *Snow*, which is stored on the Himalayas till melted by the sun, just when required for cotton.
- (b) *Silt* as a fertilizer, from erosion of the mountains in her catchment.

- (c) *Seepage* from the great Punjab. irrigated tracts, which keeps up the supply in the river during the cold season, when all the snow has melted (Appendix I.).

Only about 15 per cent. of this water, with its valuable silt, is used when the river is in flood, the rest being allowed to flow uselessly to the sea.

Then in Sind we have—

- (a) *Soil*, the accumulation of silt deposited by the river.  
 (b) *Sun*—sometimes a little too much of it.

These also are of little use without water from the Indus, as the scanty rainfall in Sind, which varies from 2 to an average of 6 inches, is practically useless for cultivation.

When the *snow*, *silt*, and *seepage*, are combined with *Sind's sun* and *soil*, Sind will blossom forth as the Garden of India. This will not take long, as the tracts to be developed first have railways running through them to the great port of Karachi, where the wharfage is being doubled in readiness for the coming development of irrigation.

My life's work in India has been to follow in the footsteps of Colonel Fife, Mr. Joyner, and other engineers who have advocated Sind's need of flow irrigation by high-level canals, and my ambition is to see a start made with Sind's great schemes.

#### REASON WHY COTTON HAS NOT INCREASED

The main reason why cotton has not increased to any extent is that this province is irrigated almost entirely by low-level inundation canals. As these canals depend upon the rise of the Indus in its flood season, their supply is naturally uncertain, and many of them only get water for two to three months in low inundations, while Sindhi and American cottons, on which the great Sind Irrigation Scheme is based, require four to five months' water.

This uncertainty forces cultivators to grow rice—which requires a large quantity of water for a short period—and other crops of little value, instead of the far more valuable cotton.

The Jamrao Canal, which was opened in 1899, and is the only really perennial canal in Sind, grows about 100,000 acres of cotton, and could grow more if it had a greater discharge.

#### WHERE EXPANSION OF IRRIGATION SHOULD BEGIN

Where the land lies low compared with the river, so that water can flow on to it by gravitation, the favourite crop in Sind is rice, which is called a “wet” crop. It requires two to two and a half times as much water every month during its season of growth as cotton and other “dry” Kharif crops.

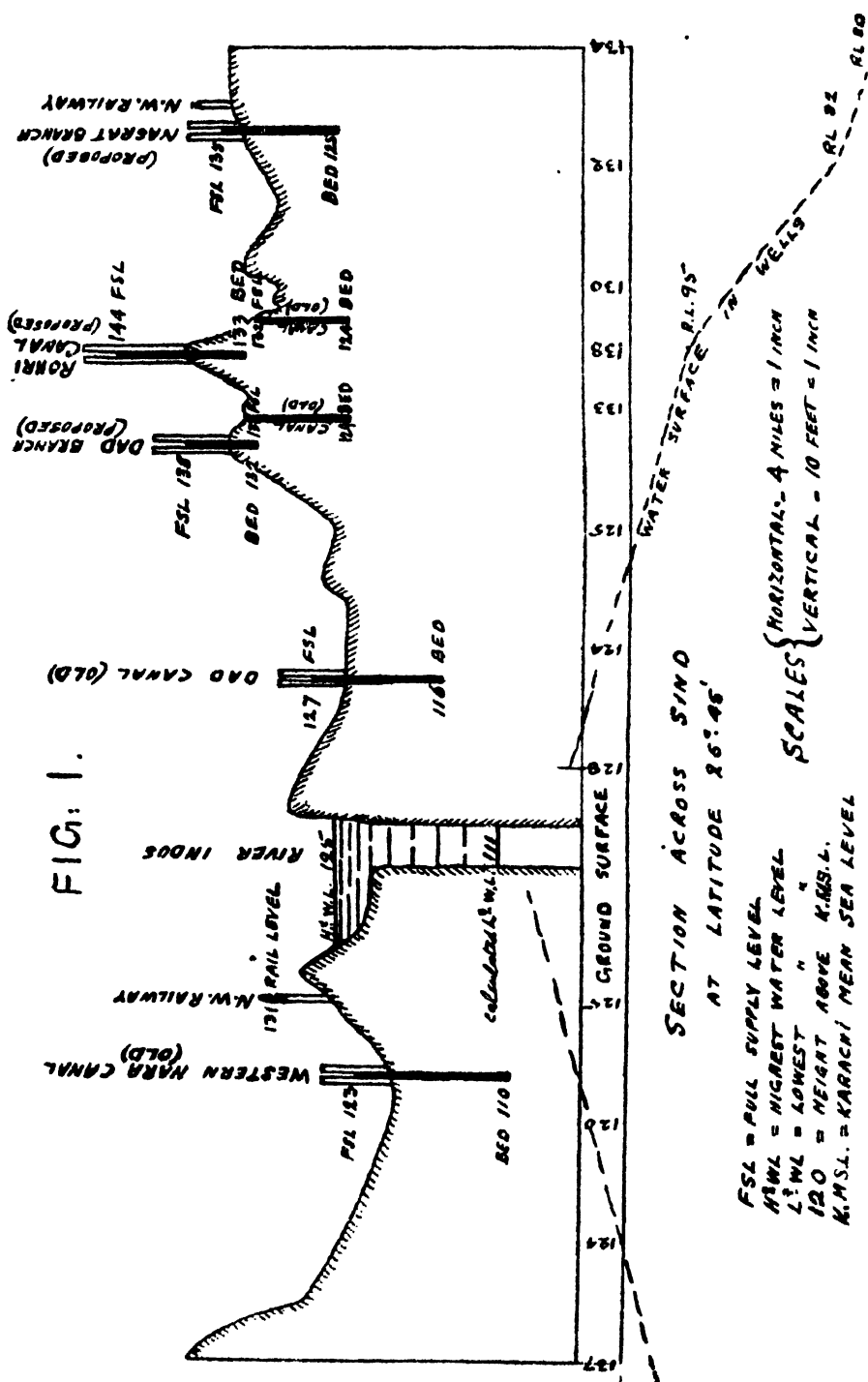
Sind grows over a million acres of rice, some of it, such as that grown at Larkhana, being famed throughout India.

The Sindhi loves rice, and will not easily be induced to change it for cotton, unless he can be convinced that cotton pays better.

Fortunately, however, for cotton development in Sind, there is an immense area of about 6,000 square miles, 300 miles in length, on the left bank of the Indus, which lies so high above the river that it cannot obtain water for rice by flow, and it is too costly to lift water for rice cultivation.

In this paper I shall deal with 5,000 square miles ( $3\frac{1}{4}$  million acres) of this area, most of which lies between Rohri and Hyderabad, in which I spent twenty years of my life as an Engineer.

The only crops grown at present in this tract—owing entirely to want of water, as it is well populated—are 100,000 acres of cotton and 550,000 acres of other dry crops, or only about 20 per cent. of its gross area, while in the low-lying tracts irrigated by the Ghar, Sukkur, and Western



Nara Canals (on the right bank of the Indus) over 40 per cent., and in the Chenab Colony over 70 per cent., of the gross area is now cultivated annually.

If flow water is given to this land, the Revenue department estimates that the present cultivation of 650,000 acres will be doubled soon after the new canal is opened, and eventually—with the help of a barrage, if required—the area is likely to go on increasing to 2 million acres, and to bring in to Government a net annual profit of  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  a million sterling.

#### REASONS WHY THIS TRACT REMAINS UNDEVELOPED

The section across Sind at latitude  $26^{\circ} 45'$  and mile 86 of the Rohri Canal (Fig. 1) shows—

(a) That the ridge on the east of the river, on which the Indus used to flow, is fully 15 feet higher than the land on the west.

(b) That the full supply level in the Rohri Canal (R.L., 144) will be 11 feet higher than the full supply level in the old canals (R.L., 133), and that the full supply in the new Dad branch (R.L., 138) will also be 11 feet higher than that in the present Dad Canal (R.L., 127), which runs in low ground, like many inundation canals.

(c) That full supply in the Rohri Canal (R.L., 144) will be 19 feet higher, and that full supply in the present Western Nara (R.L., 123) is 2 feet lower, than the highest observed flood-level in the Indus (R.L., 125) at the same latitude.

(d) That it is practically impossible to irrigate the ridge on which the Rohri Canal will run, and on which the North-Western Railway runs, by inundation canals, unless at great cost for excavation, and still greater cost to the cultivators for lifting water.

(e) That the subsoil water-level is from 40 to 50 feet below the ridge.

The following statement shows clearly the urgent necessity for the Rohri Canal :

Tract.	Gross Area commanded.	Cultivable Area commanded.		Present Annual Cultivation.	Percentage cultivated Annually—	
		Taken at Percentage of Gross.	Area.		Of Gross Area.	Of Cultivable Area.
1	2 Acres.	3	4 Acres.	5 Acres.	6 Per Cent.	7 Per Cent.
Chenab Canal, 1911-12	3,360,000	80	2,688,000	2,334,000	70	87
Chenab Canal, average of three years ended 1911-12	3,360,000	80	2,688,000	2,254,000	67	85
Right Bank Canal, <i>proposed</i> (includes Ghar, Sukkur, and Western Nara Canals)	1,679,000	70	1,175,000	661,000	39	56
Rohri Canal, <i>proposed</i>	3,086,000	75	2,314,000	650,000	21	28

NOTES.—1. The Chenab cultivates three times as much of its cultivable area as the Rohri Canal tract.

2. If the Rohri Canal comes to cultivate in time as large a percentage as the Chenab Canal—and there is no reason why it should not, with such great advantages as (a) the finest cotton land in India, (b) 700 miles nearer the Port of Karachi than the Punjab—it will cultivate  $\frac{87 \text{ per cent.}}{28 \text{ per cent.}} \times 650,000 = 2,000,000$  acres = an increase of 2,000,000 - 650,000 = 1,350,000 acres, which at only Rs. 4 net profit per acre gives £360,000 per annum.

Column 7 shows the great scope for increase in cultivation in the Rohri Canal tract, which has simply been kept back by want of water, which it can very easily get.

#### VALUE OF ANNUAL COTTON CROP

There is a considerable difference of opinion as to the ultimate area of cotton likely to be grown on the Rohri Canal; but, as I have shown in Appendix II., the lowest estimate of area as given by Mr. W. H. Lucas, C.S.I., Commissioner in Sind, in 1910, is 470,000 acres of Sindi cotton, and the highest by Mr. Fletcher, while Deputy



Director of Agriculture in Sind, in 1904, was 800,000 acres of Egyptian cotton.

Taking the value of the crop at £9 per acre for Sindi cotton, and £15 for Egyptian, the value of a year's crop would be from 4 to 12 millions sterling.

Mr. Fletcher's estimate is generally considered rather optimistic; but, as the soil compares with that in Egypt, it is possible, and at any rate we can safely rely on a 4 million sterling crop.

I am confident that, if the cultivators are allowed to cultivate as much cotton as they like—and it will be difficult to prevent them doing so—the area will soon rise to 800,000 acres, which is only about 33 per cent. of the cultivable area.

Egyptian cotton has not succeeded yet on a large scale in Sind, owing to various reasons, and a project to cost several millions sterling cannot be based on this most valuable crop; but if it comes, Sind will not only be a rival to the Punjab in wealth, but may even rival Egypt.

The Rohri Canal tract now grows about 100,000 acres of cotton on its uncertain water-supply, but, with a certain eight to nine months' water, the area and yield per acre will increase very quickly.

In four years after the commencement of the Rohri Canal a million acres of land will be opened up for cotton, and in ten years the whole 3 million acres, so that there need not be long to wait.

#### HOW TO GET WATER ON TO THIS RIDGE

This question has been discussed during the last sixty years, since the idea of providing perennial irrigation by high-level canals to this great tract originated in the brain of that far-seeing engineer, Colonel Fife.

Almost all the engineers who have studied this question have come to the conclusion that the best site for the mouth of the Rohri Canal, which will irrigate this great tract, is at Sukkur.

Some of the reasons for the choice of this site are—

(a) It gives sufficient head of water to command every acre in about 8,000 square miles of British territory by flow.

(b) It takes advantage of a natural weir made by the Sukkur gorge and by a rock bar across the river, which raises the water-level from 3 to 4 feet in the flood season.

(c) The river is ponded up by the gorge, so that top water can be taken off at a low velocity, with little silt, as pointed out by Colonel Fife.

(d) The Rohri Canal mouth at this point will be on the main stream of the river, where sand-banks cannot form. It will be in the right place for the Sukkur Barrage, when it is made for the great Right Bank Canal, which will follow the Rohri Canal, and the Nara supply cultivation, as well as for rabi on the Rohri Canal, when rabi becomes popular.

Several sites have been suggested at different points below Sukkur. Some of the objections to such sites are—

1. The barrage could not be built anywhere near Sukkur, as it would interfere with the free flow in the gorge, the sand in which is scoured out during floods to a depth of over 100 feet.

2. No barrage founded on sand could stand within the influence of the discharge through this deep gorge, which extends for miles below Sukkur.

3. Any site, say, fifteen to twenty miles down the river would lose the advantage of the great head of water above Sukkur. As the river is constantly changing its course by oscillating from side to side, in a width of ten to fifteen miles, it would be very risky to build a barrage, costing 2 to 3 millions sterling, without very long guide banks to force the



river to flow over it, the cost of which would, as far as one can see, make it quite impossible for the scheme to be a paying one.

### THE ROHRI CANAL

The Rohri Canal will run for its first fifty miles through Khairpur territory, and the first branch will take off from it at mile 41 (Fig. 2).

It is proposed to irrigate the Khairpur State by entirely separate canals, as the Rohri Canal will be in deep cutting at its head, so that branches from it would be at far too low a level to give flow irrigation to the State.

This arrangement will be very advantageous to the State, which will get a far better supply from above the gorge than their present supply from below it.

There will be no branches taking off from the Rohri Canal above mile 41, and, as the ground falls from Rohri, southwards, at about a foot per mile, while the canal will fall at only 4 inches per mile, the water-level, even in the rabi season, will come above-ground in about thirty miles from the head.

From this point onwards to mile 190, where it passes Hyderabad, the water-level in the canal will have to be dropped at convenient places by falls aggregating 40 feet.

The special circumstances which I have noted allow of the Rohri Canal bed being lowered to practically any extent, as shown in the section (Fig. 2), so that it can get its full supply in all seasons, whether the river is high or low, throughout the year.

### HISTORY OF THE ROHRI CANAL AND SUKKUR BARRAGE PROJECT

I am sure that a sketch of the development of Colonel Fife's great idea, into what is destined to be the greatest irrigation scheme in the world, and estimated to cost about 10 millions sterling, will be of interest.

## ROHRI CANAL ALONE

In 1847 the first recorded reference to a barrage at Sukkur was made by Colonel Walter Scott, of the Bombay Engineers, a nephew of Sir Walter Scott. He, however, dropped the question, as he was of opinion that, owing to the soft nature of the soil, "if a dam was established at Rohri (Sukkur) there is a positive certainty that the river would abandon its present course and assume a new one."

In 1851 Lieutenant Fife, R.E., made the first proposal to introduce high-level perennial canals into Sind, by making a canal from Rohri to discharge 2,000 cusecs to *assist* the existing inundation canals. In 1854 the Western India Irrigation Company revived the question.

In 1859 Sir Bartle Frere, Commissioner in Sind, pointed out that, "of all the sections into which he divided Sind for irrigation purposes, the section to which Captain Fife's present project relates—*i.e.*, that between Rohri and Hyderabad—is the largest, most important, best populated, and most valuable of all."

Fifty years later, Mr. W. H. Lucas, C.S.I., states in his Revenue Report on this project:

"The real work which the canal is designed to do is to convert lift irrigation into flow, and substitute a large perennial canal for a network of small inundation canals in a thickly-occupied tract and in an old and settled country, and to enable vast areas of occupied lands to be cultivated more regularly and with shorter periods of fallow than at present."

Sindhis have been looking forward to this canal for fifty years, and call it the "Sindh Sudhar" (Sind Improvement).

Mr. Joyner, who has made researches into the old history of Sind, states that Alexander the Great, in his travels through Sind 2,500 years ago, sailed down the Indus, which then flowed along the high ridge between Rohri and Hyderabad.

King Alexander's Secretary described this part of Sind as the most populous part of the world, and as highly cultivated and civilized.

Mr. Joyner also states that the great ruined city of Brahmanabad, which measures several miles in circumference, and is now twenty miles from the river, was undoubtedly on the river bank, and that there is evidence that it was destroyed by the river, and not by fire.

There is a well-known old Sindhi proverb that Sind will be happy once more when the river flows once again through the Hyderabad district.

It remains for Sind engineers to restore this fertile tract, by diverting on to it a small quantity of the water which is now flowing uselessly into the sea.

This can very easily be done by making the Rohri Canal.

In 1869 Fife's canal had, after much consideration, been increased to 7,000 cusecs, and its cost to 200 lakhs, with a return of 7 per cent.

In 1872 the Rohri Canal Scheme was abandoned by the Viceroy, acting on information laid before him while on a visit to Sind.

In 1877 Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State, drew the attention of the Bombay Government to the "unsatisfactory state of Sind irrigation."

In 1890 Lord Reay, while Governor of Bombay, took up the question and pressed for further inquiry.

In 1891 Mr. R. B. Joyner, C.I.E., pointed out the crying need for irrigation between Rohri and Hyderabad, and submitted an estimate for two canals to discharge 18,700 cusecs, at an estimated cost of 350 lakhs.

Mr. Joyner was thus the first to recommend a complete scheme to irrigate the whole of the great area, which includes the Rohri Canal and Jamrao Canal tracts, by two high-level canals from Rohri. The combined discharge of his two canals may be taken as 14,000 for the Rohri Canal and 4,700 for the Jamrao Canal.

In 1899 the Jamrao was opened as a separate canal

taking off from the Nara River, so that the area to be dealt with now is only the Rohri Canal tract.

In 1892 the scheme prepared by Mr. Joyner was abandoned, as it was said to be financially unsound.

In 1893 General Fife, who had never lost faith in his great Sind ideals, again urged the great necessity for the Rohri Canal.

In 1900 Mr. E. F. Dawson, Superintending Engineer, proposed a scheme for the Sukkur Barrage, to improve irrigation on the Right Bank Canals, but not to include the Rohri Canal. Investigation showed this to be a hopeless scheme.

In 1901 Sind engineers, in their evidence before the Indian Irrigation Commission, agreed that the withdrawals by new Punjab canals had not lowered the water-level of the Indus in Sind.

In 1903 the Indian Irrigation Commission, of which Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff was President, discussed Mr. Dawson's proposal, and gave their opinion that the time had not come for such heroic measures, and that half a million acres of new cultivation would be required to pay for a barrage.

#### ROHRI CANAL AND SUKKUR BARRAGE

In 1904 (September) I submitted a note to the Government of Bombay on the effect of the withdrawals by new Punjab canals on the volume and level of the Indus in Sind.

I disagreed with the Sind engineers who gave evidence before the Commission in 1901, and pointed out that it would probably be necessary to construct weirs across the Indus, and even to curtail the quantity of water taken off by the Punjab canals, so that they might not ruin our Sind irrigation.

This was followed up by the Superintending Engineer of the Indus River Commission coming to the conclusion that the river-level had fallen about a foot, owing to the abstraction of 14,000 cusecs by the Punjab.

This conclusion, which was generally accepted, combined with my note, led naturally to a barrage being included in the scheme, and to its being called the Rohri Canal and Sukkur Barrage Project.

In 1904 (November) I was sent on deputation to the Punjab to report on the methods adopted for the improvement of inundation canals.

On my return to Sind, full of admiration of the Punjab perennial canals, I proposed (December, 1904) that the question of the introduction of perennial canals into Sind, which had been abandoned in 1892, should at once be reopened.

Subsequent investigations—fortunately for Sind—have proved that our fears regarding Punjab withdrawals were groundless, and that the Sind engineers, who had far longer experience of the Indus, were correct.

In 1906 (April), at my request, the Inspector-General of Irrigation visited Sind, and approved of the investigations which were being made.

In 1906 (July) a preliminary project was submitted to Government, with alternative estimates for the Rohri Canal, with a barrage and without a barrage.

*From 1907 to 1909.*—These three years were occupied in field-work, including 10,000 miles of levels over 6,000 square miles of country, much of it covered with jungle, which had to be cut through by axemen. Besides this, the whole tract was divided up into large squares containing 1,024 acres, the corners of which are marked by large boundary-stones. Each of these squares can be subdivided into sixty-four squares of sixteen acres when the canals are made.

This work, together with the preparation of a detailed project, cost about 3 lakhs of rupees (£20,000). The field-work was very trying in the great heat, and large numbers of the surveyors fell sick or gave up, especially those from the Punjab.

My assistant, Mr. Parulekar, broke down several



times, and I had to take leave myself, which caused some delay.

In 1909 a detailed project was prepared, which showed that for the present the Right Bank Canal should be omitted from the scheme, as it could not bring in any revenue to help the barrage, but would naturally follow *after* the barrage, when it would only have to pay for itself.

In 1910 a revised project was submitted for the Rohri Canal, followed by the barrage, as the 1909 project was based on figures given by the engineers. This project was based, in accordance with the orders of Government, on figures of cultivation and revenue given by the Commissioner in Sind, in his Revenue Report dated May 10, 1910.

In 1912 the Government of India submitted the project to the Secretary of State, recommending that the barrage should be begun five or six years after the canal, so as to be completed along with it, instead of ten years after it, if needed, which I had recommended.

The Karachi Chamber of Commerce and the Indian Press have frequently complained of the delay in this great project coming to maturity, but the above brief notes show how much work and consultation has to be gone through before a project of this magnitude, estimated to cost from 5 to 10 millions sterling, can be sanctioned.

The Rohri Canal and Sukkur Barrage are likely to be followed by the great Right Bank Feeder Canal, and by improvements to the irrigation from the Nara River. These will both be dependent on the barrage. The complete scheme will probably cost about £10,000,000.

The Rohri Canal will be about 350 feet in width, and will carry a full discharge of about 16,000 cusecs, compared with 11,000 cusecs, the full discharge of the Chenab, the largest and finest canal in India.

The following statements show—

(a) The increase in estimated size and cost of the Rohri Canal.

(b) The decrease in the slope of the bed, with increase in size.

(c) The great increase in the cost of labour, which accounts for the cost per cusec being only Rs. 120 for estimate No. 2, and over Rs. 200 for Nos. 5 to 7.

No.	Year.	Proposer.	Dimensions at Head.		Slope of Canal Bed.	Full Supply.	Estimate.	
			Width.	Depth.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
			Feet.	Feet.		Cusecs.	Lakh Rs.	£
1	1855	Lieutenant Fife	90	9	1 in 9,050	2,200	26	170,000
2	1858	Captain Fife	240	8	1 in 10,560	5,100	90	600,000
3	1869	Colonel Fife	267	10	1 in 12,060	7,045	200	1,300,000
4	1891	Mr. Joyner	325 428	10 10	1 in 12,670	18,700	350	2,300,000
5	1906	Mr. Summers	200	14	1 in 10,000	12,130	380	2,500,000
6	1910	Mr. Summers	330	13	1 in 16,000	14,290	409	3,100,000
7	1913	Mr. Summers	350	13	1 in 16,000	15,500	500	3,300,000

NOTE.—No. 4 includes the Jamrao Canal tract; No. 5 was a rough preliminary estimate to show that the scheme was practicable. The canal was not designed with regard to non-silting velocities, etc., as Nos. 6 and 7.

Year.	Average Daily Wage of a Coolie.	Cost of Earthwork per 1,000 Cubic Feet.
-------	---------------------------------	---

	Annas or Pence.	Rs.
1855	2 to 3	1'5
1898	5 to 8	5'0
1910	7 to 9	6'0

From Report on Canals and Forests in Sind, by Colonel Walter Scott, dated 1853.

### ALTERNATIVE SCHEMES

1. The Rohri Canal and Sukkur Barrage to be constructed together.

2. The Rohri Canal alone to be constructed first, and to be followed by the Barrage if, and when, needed.

#### 1. *The Rohri Canal and Barrage together*

The Secretary of State has refused to give his sanction to the combined canal and barrage, as the estimates show

that it is practically certain that this project will not pay on the forecasts of areas and revenue given by the Revenue Department. Besides this, the final site of the barrage has not been settled yet, nor has a detailed estimate been made.

The following table gives the profits from the Rohri Canal with a barrage ;

RETURNS FROM KHARIF AND RABI

Crop.	Acres.	Net Assessment per Acre.	Net Profit on Each Crop.	Total Net Profit.
KHARIF—		Rs.	Lakhs Rs.	Lakhs Rs.
Rice ... ..	46,800	3'3	1'54	
Gardens ... ..	6,000	3'3	0'20	
Cotton ... ..	435,200	4'2	18'28	
Other Kharif ... ..	335,000	2'4	8'04	
	823,060		28'06	
Deduct present net Kharif revenue ... ..			8'42	
			19'64	
Add—Rents and water-power ... ..			0'90	
Sale proceeds of land ... ..			1'65	
Net profit from Kharif ... ..				22'19
RABI—				
Rabi ... ..	345,990	2'9	10'03	
Bersim ... ..	150,000	1'0	1'50	
			11'53	
Deduct present net Rabi revenue ... ..			1'62	
Net profit from Rabi ... ..				9'91
Net profit from Kharif and Rabi ... ..				32'10

The table on p. 316 gives the increase in cultivation and profits estimated by the Commissioner as due to the Rohri Canal and Barrage.

From these tables it will be seen that 71 per cent. of the profits are estimated to come from kharif, and only 29 per cent., or 11'6 lakhs, from rabi.

	Canal.	Increase in Cultivation. (1911, R., pp. cxix and cxxi.)			Profits. (R.R., p. 43.)		
		In Kharif.	In Rabi.	Total.	From Kharif.	From Rabi.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.	Lakhs.
Nara Supply Channel Canals	Jamrao ...	—	—	—	3.78	0.93	4.71
	Mithrao ...	—	—	—	1.13	0.63	1.76
	Thar ...	108,070	11,750	119,820	0.20	0.09	0.29
	Hiral ...	—	—	—	0.02	0.25	0.27
	Khipra, etc.	—	—	—	0.25	0.25	0.50
	Total				5.38	2.15	7.53
	Sukkur ...	—	9,000	9,000	1.00	0.20	1.20
	Total				6.38	2.35	8.73
	Rohri ...	276,078	241,126	517,198	22.44	9.25	31.69
	Total	384,148	261,870	646,018	28.82	11.60	40.42

NOTE.—71 per cent. of the profits come from Kharif, and 29 per cent. from Rabi.

Now without a barrage—as there can be no deficiency of water in the flood season—the kharif crop will not be affected to any appreciable extent, and it is certain that, if the canal bed is kept low enough, almost the same rabi revenue can be obtained from the Rohri Canal without a barrage as with one.

For argument's sake, let us assume the whole 11.6 lakhs as credited to the barrage from rabi. This sum is 4 per cent. on 290 lakhs; but the lowest possible estimate for the barrage and the other works required to obtain this rabi is about 350 lakhs, and my lowest estimate is 450 lakhs.

This shows that on Mr. Lucas's forecasts the barrage cannot possibly justify itself.

The canal is estimated to irrigate 886,135 acres kharif and 376,000 acres rabi, but, as it is assumed that no profit will be derived from Jagir land, the Commissioner has allowed for revenue from 823,000 acres kharif and 346,000 acres rabi in Government land out of a culturable area of

2,132,000 acres, which gives an intensity of only 55 per cent., as compared with 85 per cent. on the Chenab.

If the rabi area were increased by 430,000 acres to 776,000, the intensity would be increased to 75 per cent., which it is almost certain to come to in time. At Mr. Lucas's net revenue per acre for rabi this would add  $430,000 \times 2.9 = 12.5$  lakhs on to his forecast of 11.6 lakhs, making 24 lakhs from rabi, which would give 5 per cent. on 480 lakhs, and so might pay for a barrage.

This, however, would necessitate ignoring the revenue forecasts, which were most carefully thought out by Mr. Lucas, in consultation with his assistants and Mr. Henderson, the special Sind agricultural expert.

I understand that Mr. Lucas made his forecasts for a generation, and not for, say, fifty years ahead, when the intensity of cultivation is sure to be much increased by improved methods of cultivation.

Far more fertilizing silt will be carried on to the fields by flow canals, with their higher velocities, than by inundation canals, the low velocities in which cause the valuable silt to settle in their beds, from which it has to be removed every year at considerable cost and thrown aside.

The estimates for work can never be reduced, as the cost of labour is steadily increasing.

If the Commissioner adheres to his 346,000 acres of rabi, it will be necessary to greatly increase the rates of assessment if the scheme with the barrage is to pay.

For example, if the cotton rate is increased by Rs. 3, this will give a gross assessment of 9 and net of 6.9 (deducting 0.9 for land share and 1.2 for working expenses). This will increase the net revenue from the Rohri Canal by  $435,260 \times (6.9 - 4.2) = 11.75$  lakhs, and so make the canal and barrage scheme productive.

*2. Rohri Canal alone to begin with, followed by the Barrage if, and when, needed*

I am certain that the canal alone will have sufficient water while cultivation is developing. It seems to me that Mr. Lucas's forecasts are admirably suited for a scheme to begin with the canal alone. It will have ample water for his full kharif area, the revenue from which alone will just pay for the canal, which is estimated to cost 500 lakhs for his total kharif area of 886,000 acres.

Of course, there will always be a large area of ordinary rabi and "bosi" rabi, which would bring in extra profit above the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. from kharif.

If rabi becomes popular, or increases by pressure of population, and it is found that the barrage is required, it can be at once constructed, as the time during which the canal is being made would be occupied in making investigations in connection with the barrage, and in preparing detailed plans and a final estimate, which is likely to take four or five years.

Owing to the great head of water available at Rohri, the bed of the canal has been fixed by the levels of the ground surface, so that, even if the barrage is eventually constructed below the Sukkur gorge, only the Summers Supply Channel and the mouth portion of the canal will have to be abandoned for irrigation purposes, but they will have paid for themselves several times over before the barrage and the new mouth are ready.

The escape channel, if kept in use, would act as a safety-valve to lower the river-level in times of high flood, as it could be made to carry as much as 80,000 cusecs, which would lower the level appreciably.

The great majority of engineers who have studied this question are in favour of the proposal to begin with the canal, and several well-known experts are of opinion that the canal may be so successful that the barrage may never be required at all.

In this case, which is not an unlikely one, Sind would have a project which would compare financially even with the Chenab—the finest canal in the world—and would certainly come next to it in India.

A few opinions on these points are given in Appendix III.

#### OBJECTIONS TO THE ROHRI CANAL ALONE TO BEGIN WITH

From articles which have appeared lately in Indian papers, it is evident that many people think that the Sukkur Barrage Committee of 1913 have not only condemned the scheme for the canal and barrage together, as it will not be a productive work, but also my scheme for the Rohri Canal alone to begin with.

This is not the case, as shown in their Report (Appendix IV.), which has been freely quoted by Indian papers.

Everyone is agreed that the canal is an absolute necessity for the development of the Rohri Canal tract, to bring it back to what it once was, whether with or without a barrage.

If it can be shown that there is no more risk attaching to the construction of the canal alone than to similar great undertakings, such as the Suez Canal, the Panama Canal, and the Chenab itself, then Government can proceed with this great canal. This will be the first step in the greatest and best scheme remaining to be carried out in India, and I estimate that it will ultimately give an annual profit to Government of from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  million sterling.

In the following notes I shall reply briefly to the objections to beginning with the Rohri Canal :

##### 1. *Scarcity of Population*

The Rohri Canal tract is now the most thickly populated in Sind, as it has been for the last 2,000 years.

Formerly much of the tract must have been irrigated by flow when the river was on the ridge.

The present population averages about 1.25 per acre of cultivation, or  $650,000 \times 1.25 = 812,000$  for the whole tract.

In the Chenab colony the area of cultivation in 1911 was 2,200,000 acres, and the population by the census of that year 1,070,000, giving one person to every two acres cultivated by flow. This gives 320 persons per square mile of flow cultivation in the Chenab colony to 800 persons per square mile in the Rohri tract, where there is much of lift cultivation.

Thus, in the Rohri tract, in which there is a large percentage of lift, over a million and a half acres could be cultivated by flow with its present population, which is engaged in the laborious process of lifting water on to their fields, at a cost estimated from Rs. 4 to 12 per acre. I think it is only right that flow water should be given to the zamindars in this tract, who are the most industrious in Sind.

*2. That the Inundation Season is becoming Shorter*

For many years past complaints have been made that the inundation season is becoming shorter and shorter. Our gauge readings, however, at Sukkur and Kotri do not show that this is the case.

The following table compares the average number of days in the year that the river-level at Sukkur was at or above R.L. 192 (the level proposed for the barrage gates) and R.L. 194, for thirty years ended 1877, and thirty years ended 1912 :

Periods.	Number of Days at or above—	
	R.L. 192.	R.L. 194.
Thirty years—1848 to 1877 ... ..	116	83
Thirty years—1883 to 1912 ... ..	132	98
Average number of days' increase in thirty-five years ... ..	16	15

These figures show that the inundation season has not become shorter.



### 3. *Risk of Silting at Head of Canal*

The Indus and its branches contain large quantities of useless sand which is heavy, and most valuable fertilizing silt which, fortunately, is light.

The problem which the engineer has to solve is to keep the sand out of his canals, and to spread the silt on the land.

Experience gained by failures and successes shows how this can be done. Water at a high velocity carries more sediment in suspension than water at a low velocity, so that, if we can reduce the velocity of the water entering the canal mouth, we can reduce the quantity of sand entering it.

If we reduce the velocity too much, the silt will also be dropped out of it, and we shall have comparatively siltless water of less value for cultivation.

This shows the need of designing canals scientifically, so that they will carry the fertilizing silt to their tails. Where the water in the river is high enough above the land to be irrigated, and the slope of the country is steep enough, this can be done without difficulty.

These conditions exist in the case of the Rohri Canal.

### *Failures*

Nearly all the failures have been caused by allowing deep water to enter canals at a high velocity, as it carries sand in with it, which it drops in the canal.

Even if surface water with a high velocity is taken in from the river over a high sill at the canal mouth, it carries sand in with it, which, being deposited near the mouth, reduces the canal's discharge.

### *Remedies*

The remedies adopted by Punjab engineers, and which have had such good effect, are described in Punjab Irrigation Papers.

The more important are—

(a) To heighten the weirs generally by fixing falling

gates on their crests, so as to force water over the deposit of silt at canal mouth.

(b) To raise the sills at the canal mouths, so as to take in surface water.

(c) To widen the canal mouths, so as to reduce the velocity

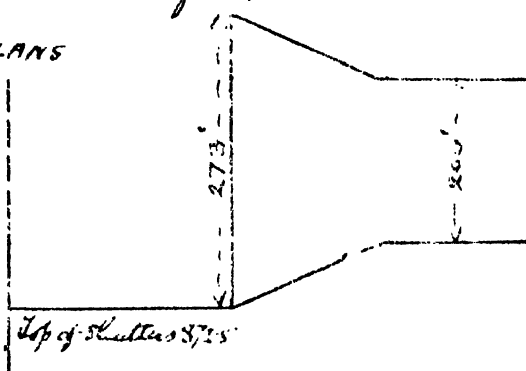
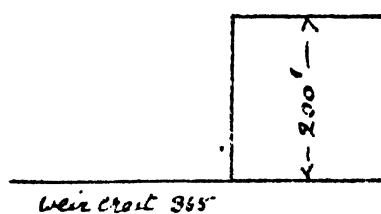
FIG. 3

## SIRHIND CANAL.

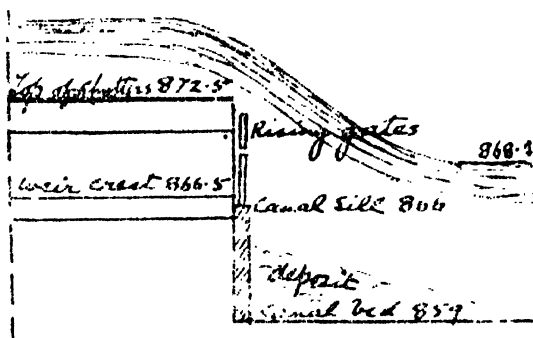
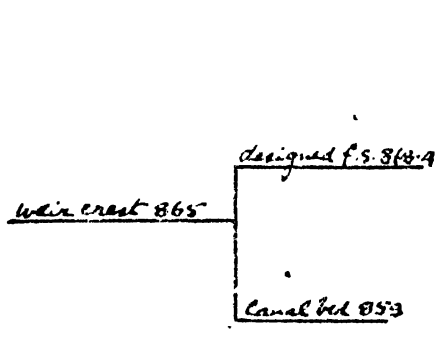
Before remedies.

After remedies.

## PLANS



## SECTIONS



f.s. = full supply level  
859 = height above K.M.S.L.

The rising gates are raised as the level in the River rises.

of water entering them to such an extent that it will be forced to drop its heavy sediment outside the canal mouth.

Fig. 3 shows the conditions existing at the Sirhind Canal before and after the application of these remedies, which cured the silting that had caused so much anxiety to the engineers, and loss to Government.

Fig. 4 shows the conditions proposed for the Rohri Canal.

This question of silting has been discussed during the past fifty years by almost every engineer who has been connected with this project, but I do not know of one with any Sind experience who has had doubts about constructing the canal without a barrage.

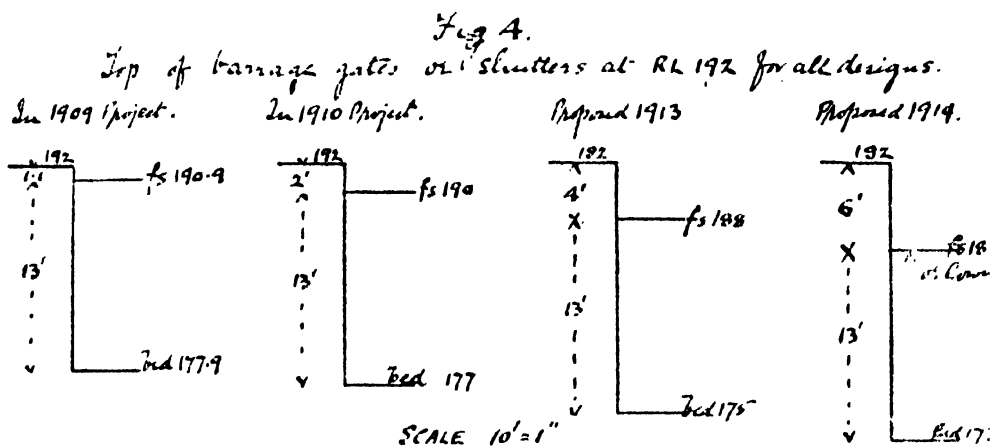
In 1871 Colonel F. H. Rundall, R.E., Inspector-General of Irrigation, referring to the proposed supply channel and escape at the head, wrote: "It appears to me that it would have been a simpler arrangement to have built the regulating sluice close on the river margin; for if that be practicable—and it would appear from the sheet of sections that a rocky foundation is available—no second set of sluices would be required, and there could not possibly be any silting."

In 1910 Sir John Benton, K.C.I.E., Inspector-General of Irrigation, referring to the supply channel and escape, wrote: "The escape will act as undersluices at the head of the Left Bank (Rohri) Canal, and will serve to admit of top water being procured, so that head silting in the Left Bank Canal need not be apprehended."

In 1911 Mr. R. G. Kennedy, C.I.E., the well-known Punjab hydraulic expert, wrote: "If you design the supply channel properly, with its escape back to the river, it could be used as a silt-trap, scoured out occasionally into the river, very much in the same way as they use undersluices and the divide wall on most new canals, especially on the Sirhind Canal (Punjab), where they have silt troubles, or, rather, *had* them before this system was introduced. With this possibility in view, it would be more than a mistake to make the barrage first."

In Sind we have the new mouth of the Fuleli Canal, which was excavated in 1856, and has worked satisfactorily ever since.

This canal has a slope of only 1 in 19,000, and takes in water direct from the Indus when it is at its highest level, and carrying much sand and silt. There are no arrangements for taking surface water over a high sill, as in the



Allowance from top of barrage shutter to full supply level (designs)

Punjab Canals.  
(Actual)

Chenab	3.5'
Sirhind	4.1'
Lower Jhelum	5.5'

Rohri Canal.  
(Proposed)

1909	1.1'
1910	2.0'
1913	4.0'
1914	6.0' or more.

NOTES.—(a) Besides the above remedies, divide walls are constructed at right angles to the weirs, so that water can be ponded up—as it is now ponded up at Sukkur by the gorge—to make it drop its silt.

(b) As the top of the Rohri Canal shutters cannot be raised, on account of the great danger of forcing the river to change its course and leave the gorge, it will be better, with or without a barrage, to lower the bed of the canal, which can be done to any extent at comparatively small cost.

(c) I have proposed 175 for the bed, but think it should be even lower, so as to allow 5 or 6 feet from f.s. level to top of shutters.

(d) The lower the bed at head, the greater the fall into the canal, and the greater the horse-power available for the development of electric power, which will be used for working cotton and flour mills, irrigation from wells, lighting Sukkur, Rohri, and other towns, lifting water to the Sukkur water-supply reservoirs, and many other purposes.

(e) The width of the Chenab Canal is 234 feet, but its mouth is 416 feet, which allows of surface water being taken in at a safe velocity.

(f) The Chenab has its tops of shutters at 728.2, and f.s. at 724.7, which gives a difference of 3.5, but it is probable that this will be found to be insufficient.

(g) The allowance for the Lower Jhelum is 5.5 feet, which, I believe, works very satisfactorily.

Punjab, and the head sluice is half a mile from the river ; but, with all these apparent disadvantages, it has never silted since an escape was opened from its tail to the sea in 1900.

Before that time it silted a little at its tail, where there was practically a "dead end." The Nara Supply Channel at Rohri has been given as an example of silting, but it is hardly fair to take it, as its head sluice is fully half a mile from the river, and its mouth is also at some distance from the main channel.

Even with these inducements to silting, it worked well and gave a good supply for fifty years (1856-1906), till floods from river spills actually flowed across it, washing away both its banks, which naturally silted it. Besides this, the Nara River, which it feeds, is in a very bad state. It winds about through the desert like the Indus. Thousands of snags, many 4 to 5 feet in diameter, are usually lying in its bed, and sand-hills 20 to 30 feet in height occasionally fall into it.

I hear that it has recovered, and that last year's revenue on it was a record.

If it is accepted that there is no likelihood of the Indus volume falling to any injurious extent, no greater error could be made than to construct a barrage costing 2 or 3 millions sterling on the chance of its preventing a problematical silting of the canal.

If fall in volume and silting are not feared, Government can construct the Rohri Canal at once, and in three or four years begin to open 3,000,000 acres of the best land in Sind for the development of cotton.

If the large majority of engineers who do not fear silting are right, Government, by postponing the barrage, will save many millions sterling.

Even if the chance of our being correct were only 1 in 10, I should say, Make the canal to start with ; but from long experience of canals in Sind, I think the chance of success is even more than 10 to 1

I have gone more fully into this question than I intended, but on it seems to depend the question of saving some 5 millions sterling or more, and the future of new irrigation works in Sind.

### *Danger in Further Delay*

If the construction of the canal is postponed again, there are two alternatives :

(a) To let this tract remain undeveloped, and to lose a great cotton crop of 4 millions sterling or upwards.

(b) To make new inundation canals and improve existing ones. This alternative would probably be followed, but would endanger the scheme's ever becoming productive, as most of the expenditure incurred on these low-level canals would be lost when the Rohri Canal is made—and it must be made sooner or later—but the net revenue derived from them would have to be deducted from the net revenue due to the Rohri Canal, in addition to the present net revenue of 10 lakhs.

The greater the net revenue from new works other than the Rohri Canal, the less chance would there be of the scheme being productive.

The Right Bank Canal tract is already burdened by a net revenue of 15 lakhs, which, if derived from an uncultivated tract, would return 5 per cent. on an expenditure of 300 lakhs.

These figures show how Sind is handicapped by its old cultivation compared with the Punjab, where many of the new canals were constructed in waste land.

They also show the great urgency of making a beginning before the old revenue becomes too great a burden for any scheme to bear.

The soil of the Indus valley is good, but it only supports one-fifth of the population per square mile, supported by the Ganges valley. Mr. Gait, C.S.I., C.I.E., in his recent interesting lecture before the Royal Society of Arts on the census of 1911, put this great difference down to the difference in

rainfall, which is good in the Ganges valley and very scanty in the Indus valley. By making use of the Indus silty water, Sind could soon make up for the want of rain, and perennial canals are a far more reliable source of supply than the best rainfall.

THREE PICTURES OF THE ROHRI CANAL TRACT  
500 B.C.

The Indus flowing along the centre of the tract. A high state of civilization and a contented peasantry. Large cities with houses of burnt brick. Large, straight canals and branch canals flowing along ridges. Suddenly the Indus leaves this ridge, drifting sand fills up the canals, and the population, being without water, leave the country, leaving a thousand villages and towns desolate.

A.D. 1914

Indus twenty to thirty miles away from the tract. Canals flowing in lowest ground. Only one-fourth of the area cultivated. Ridges left uncultivated. Cultivators lifting comparatively siltless water on to their fields from 5 feet to 20 feet at a cost of, say, Rs. 5 per acre or more. A population of 800,000 persons cultivating 600,000 acres, which with high-level flow canals could be cultivated by 300,000 persons.

Then, if the Rohri Canal is constructed

A.D. 1940,

over a million acres of cultivation, half to three-quarters of a million acres of cotton, and twenty to thirty cotton mills. Straight, high-level canals carrying silty water to the fields. Electric power generated at canal head, working cotton mills, lighting Sukkur, Rohri, and Khairpur, and other towns by electricity, and lifting water for the Sukkur supply, etc. Cultivation gradually increasing from 1 to 2 million acres. Profit to Government of one-quarter to one-half million sterling per annum.

## CONCLUSION

The estimates—based on the Commissioner's forecasts of revenue—show that the Rohri Canal and Barrage, if constructed together, cannot be a remunerative work.

The Rohri Canal alone, to begin with, will be a remunerative work, based on the Commissioner's kharif forecasts and a small area of bosi rabi grown on kharif water.

The canal and barrage together will be productive—

*A.* If the annual assessment on cotton is increased from the Commissioner's rate of Rs. 6 per acre to Rs. 9. Or

*B.* If the area of rabi in Government land is increased by, say, 430,000 acres—from the Commissioner's 346,000 acres—to 776,000 acres.

The canal alone, while cultivation is developing; will pay with cotton even at Rs. 5.

The quantity of water for the cotton crop will be the same with or without a barrage.

I have no doubt that cotton could stand an assessment of Rs. 9, but think that such a rise from the present rate of Rs. 3 to Rs. 4 could only be made very gradually.

The tract of 5,000 square miles between Rohri and Hyderabad lies so high that it can only get water by flow from a canal such as the Rohri Canal.

Sukkur is an ideal site for such a canal for the following reasons :

(a) The rock bar, which extends across the river from bank to bank, forms a natural weir.

(b) The river is ponded up by the gorge, so that surface water, which contains less sand, can be taken into the canal at a low velocity.

(c) The water-level in the river is so high above the land to be irrigated, that the supply at all seasons can be "dropped" into the canal.

(d) The Indus has a practically unlimited supply of water all the year round. In the rabi season, the canal only requires about 6,000 out of 50,000 available.



(c) Judging from what has happened in the past, the river's discharge will not be affected to any appreciable extent by new Punjab canals, nor even by a weir across the river itself.

If it is accepted that the Rohri Canal will receive a sufficient supply in the kharif season—and I can see no reason to doubt this—the canal alone may safely be made to begin with. There are risks, of course, as in nearly all great schemes, but the risks in this case are very small indeed.

It was said that the Suez Canal would silt as soon as opened, and had Lesseps not taken any risks, this magnificent work might never have been made.

There were risks in making a new mouth, four miles above Kotri, to the Fuleli—the largest canal in India—from a silty river, without any precautions against admitting silt, but at all seasons it has worked satisfactorily for fifty years without any barrage.

If the Rohri Canal works without the barrage for even ten years, the saving will be over a million sterling, and if for forty years, which is not improbable, I estimate the saving at more than five millions!

If the great majority of engineers, who believe that the canal will work alone while cultivation is developing, prove to be wrong, the barrage can be built at any time.

The bed of the canal, except a few miles at its head, will be the same with or without a barrage, so that even if a site is finally settled below the gorge, only the mouth portion of the canal will have to be “scrapped.”

In my opinion it would be a grave error to make this costly barrage until it is seen that it is required.

The people have no rabi to speak of at present, so will have no grievance, and for some years will be fully occupied with their increased kharif crops.

A minor reason for postponing the barrage is that if constructed at the same time as new Delhi, rates will be raised, owing to competition, as many of our Sind

masons come from the Punjab, which will also supply masons for Delhi.

Engineers, like doctors, differ, but there is a large majority in favour of beginning with the canal.

I would not continue to urge the canal first, did I not feel so convinced that it is the best scheme, and as the Earl of Wemyss replied when asked to explain the secret of his old age: "The only thing to do at ninety, or before it, is to keep on fighting for what one believes to be right. That is the main thing."

The question to be decided is, under the circumstances described in this paper, Would Government be justified in constructing the Rohri Canal, which must be constructed sooner or later, to begin with?

The alternative is to wait and see the result of further Punjab withdrawals and investigations in connection with the different sites proposed for the barrage. This would mean postponing the development of Sind for at least five years, and probably for very much longer.

## APPENDIX I

LETTER TO THE "TIMES" OF OCTOBER 8, 1913

## SIND IRRIGATION—ROHRI CANAL AND SUKKUR BARRAGE

*To the Editor of the "Times"*

SIR,

It would seem that in India a widespread fear has been gaining ground that, owing to withdrawals of water from the Indus above Sind by new Punjab and other canals, we may see the Indus laid dry and Sind ruined for want of water. As I have been in Sind for about twenty years, and am responsible for the present project for the Rohri Canal followed by the Sukkur Barrage, I wish to show how these fears arose, and also that—fortunately for Sind's future—the data which we have on record indicate that they are quite groundless, and that the volume of water in the Indus is not decreasing, but, if anything, increasing. This is a matter of the utmost importance and urgency for Sind, and on it the question as to whether 2 to 3 millions sterling should be expended on a barrage at Sukkur within a few years is likely to depend.

When the Indian Irrigation Commission of 1901-1903, under Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff, came to Sind, the Sind engineers gave evidence that the Punjab withdrawals had not affected Sind to any extent. I differed from them, and pointed out to the Bombay Government that weirs across the Indus would probably be required. During the last twelve years, however, careful measurements of the Indus discharge have been made, which show that the Sind engineers were right, and that there is no need to be afraid of Sind being ruined for want of water.

## DISCHARGE OF THE INDUS IN SIND

As the discharge of the Indus in Sind, in the inundation season (April to September), is practically unlimited (only about 15 per cent. being utilized), only the cold weather (rabi) season discharge at Sukkur, from October to March, need be considered. The average rabi season discharge accepted some years ago was 39,000 cusecs, but regular measurements give the average as 52,000 cusecs for the last twelve years. The following figures give the discharge for groups of four consecutive years: ended 1904-05, 43,000 cusecs; 1908-09, 52,000 cusecs; and 1912-13, 61,000 cusecs. These figures are very satisfactory, especially when it is taken into consideration that the withdrawals by Punjab canals in the rabi season have not been decreasing. As Sir John Benton pointed out in his recent lecture before the Royal Society of Arts, irrigation in Sind has increased by 48 per cent. in twenty-five years. Judging by what has happened in the past, the abstraction of another 10,000 or 15,000 cusecs will not affect Sind to any appreciable extent, if at all.

## RETURN SEEPAGE

It is natural to expect that the volume in the Indus, when it reaches Sind, would be considerably reduced by the abstraction of such large quantities of water, and anyone who has not studied the effect of return seepage from irrigated tracts in other countries or in Sind can hardly credit its great importance. Even in America, where systematic investigations are carried on, the great effect of seepage was not fully realized till some fifteen years ago; but now it is allowed for, while apportioning the area to be cultivated by any water channel.

It is a well-known fact that rivers and lakes are kept supplied from the subsoil water in the surrounding country, and that a large proportion of the water used for irrigation finds its way back to rivers; but the immense quantity returned to the Indus, which is of vital importance to Sind and is sufficient to irrigate some millions

of acres, has hardly been realized. During the flood season the Punjab canals abstract an average of over 40,000 cusecs, or as much as the discharge of the Thames, from the Indus and its tributaries, and 20,000 cusecs in the low-water (rabi) season. A large proportion of this water, which with the rainfall, if spread over an area of 10,000 square miles, would cover it to a depth of about 5 feet, soaks into the ground, where it forms immense underground reservoirs, which are not subject to such losses by evaporation as reservoirs above-ground. These underground reservoirs—the level in which rises about a foot every year in perennially irrigated tracts—in their turn give back water to the rivers in the cold season, when they fall low. Thus the Punjab canals, by storing up water in the flood season, when it cannot be used, and giving it back in the cold season, when it is wanted, equalize the flow in the Indus.

#### THE RIVAL PLANS

Owing to the rocky gorge at its head, and to the steep fall of the country, which necessitates its water-level being dropped about 8 feet before it reaches the land to be irrigated, there can be no difficulty in giving the Rohri Canal a sufficient supply to irrigate about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  million acres, estimated to be irrigated annually, out of its total area of 3 million acres. When the present backward methods of cultivation have improved, and the population has increased, the irrigated area will probably be increased by  $\frac{1}{2}$  million acres, the additional revenue from which would pay for the barrage. Sind revenue and agricultural experts do not anticipate that this additional area will come for a generation at least, but if it does, so much the better for Sind.

The Rohri Canal and the barrage together are estimated to give a return of under  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., which leaves a very slight margin for errors. As Sir James Wilson hinted in the discussion on Sir John Benton's lecture, the Government of India want schemes to show a return of 6 to 8 per cent. The Rohri Canal alone can hardly fail to give a

return of 7 per cent. while cultivation is developing, or a net annual profit of about £100,000. If the canal works alone for even twenty or thirty years, as anticipated by its originator (Colonel Fife), Mr. Joyner, and many other engineers besides myself, the project will compare favourably with some of the best of the Punjab canals. The Rohri Canal will have a practically unlimited source of supply, as it requires only about 6,000 cusecs for its  $\frac{1}{2}$  million acres (1abi) out of the 50,000 in the Indus; while the Punjab Triple Project Canals depend for their supply upon an average discharge of 10,000 cusecs in the Jhelum, which has to irrigate over a million acres.

The Assuan Dam stores up water towards the end of the flood season in an immense lake, and lets it out as required when the Nile level falls, and Sir Louis Dane's proposed Woolar Lake Reservoir, which may soon be required, will do the same for the Jhelum River, which will supply the Punjab Triple Canals. The Sukkur Barrage, however, will not store water, but will only raise the river-level at Sukkur when it falls too low to give sufficient water to canals just above it, and so will not increase the supply in existing inundation canals, as some people suppose. Eventually, when the irrigation on the Rohri Canal is developed, the barrage may be made to increase it, and to feed the proposed great canal from Sukkur on the right bank of the Indus. The project may then give a net annual profit of as much as £250,000.

#### COTTON-GROWING

Another reason for constructing the Rohri Canal at once is that it will, without the barrage, give flow irrigation to the best cotton land in Sind, and is likely to make a substantial addition of upwards of £4,000,000 per annum—one expert estimated £12,000,000 to the value of the Indian cotton crop, which Sir Charles Macara has stated is expected to be £50,000,000 this year. Thus the value of one year's cotton crop on the Rohri Canal is estimated at more than the total cost of the canal, and the revenue from its cotton and hot-weather food-crops alone would

make it a productive work, all net revenue from cold-weather crops coming in as extra profit.

#### SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, if the discharge in the Indus does not fall by a large amount, which all the data we have show that it will not do, the Rohri Canal alone will have ample water for a generation at any rate, while cultivation is developing. The canal alone will give a net annual profit which I estimate at over £100,000, and some millions sterling will be saved in interest charges, which would accumulate if the barrage is constructed along with the canal, as it would be like a 50 horse-power engine doing the work of 20 horse-power while cultivation is developing. On the other hand, should Sir John Benton's anticipations turn out to be correct, which will be known before the canal is completed, the barrage can be commenced at any time, the interval till its commencement being used for making the necessary investigations required before a final estimate can be prepared for it.

Nine years' continuous work in connection with this project has convinced me that the only project which is financially safe is to make the Rohri Canal alone to begin with, and to follow it up by the barrage when needed. The proposal to construct the canal before the barrage is entirely in accordance with the views of the Indian Irrigation Commission of 1901-1903, and all Sind officers, both revenue and public works, as far as I am aware, are in favour of making a start with the Rohri Canal first.

#### FUTURE IRRIGATION WORKS

In an article which appeared in the *Times* on May 21, it was stated that "if the present rate of progress is continued, and sufficient funds remain available, the Indian Irrigation Department will have exhausted most possibilities of construction in another twenty years." This cannot be taken as applying to Sind, where scientific irrigation has hardly made a start. The large works contemplated, in Sind

alone, are likely to cost about £20,000,000, and to take forty to fifty years to complete. The success of the Rohri Canal will make it the forerunner of other schemes.

I am, sir, yours obediently,

THOS. SUMMERS.

(*Late Chief Engineer in Sind.*)

Woodside, Peebles,

October 6, 1913.

## APPENDIX II

### EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON THE ROHRI CANAL AND SUKKUR BARRAGE PROJECT (1913)

#### COTTON ON ROHRI CANAL—SINDHI OR AMERICAN COTTON

Annual out-turn, from 350,000 to 600,000 bales; annual value,  
from £4,000,000 to £6,000,000.

THE Rohri Canal tract is specially suited for the growth of cotton, and even now, with a scanty water-supply, which is usually available for only three to five months, it produces some of the best cotton in Sind, and fully twice as much per acre as the Punjab, Central Provinces, Hyderabad, Deccan, and the whole of India.

The Commissioner in Sind, in his Revenue Report, estimates that 470,000 acres of cotton will be grown on the Rohri Canal tract with present Sindhi methods.

#### QUANTITY PER ACRE

American cotton grown at Nawabshah, in the centre of the Rohri Canal tract, last season produced an average of 900 pounds of seed cotton.



### VALUE OF SEED COTTON PER MAUND (80 POUNDS)

In the Commissioner in Sind's Revenue Administration Report for 1910-11, it is stated that cotton grown on the Jamrao Canal, which is the only modern perennial canal in Sind, fetched Rs. 12 per maund (80 pounds). As the Rohri tract has a railway running through it, has better soil and will have more silt in its water than the Jamrao, it may be assumed that this rate of Rs. 12 will be obtained for the Rohri Canal cotton.

### VALUE OF COTTON ON ROHRI CANAL (PER ACRE)

The value of Sindhi cotton per acre, according to these figures, will be  $\frac{900 \times 12}{80} = \text{Rs. } 135 (\text{£}9)$ .

### VALUE OF COTTON ON ROHRI CANAL

The culturable area taken for this project is 2,314,000 acres, and out of this the Commissioner has allowed for 470,000 acres of cotton, or only 20 per cent., which, when the excellent quality of the soil and climate for cotton-growing, and the ample supply of water, are considered, is to me a very safe estimate.

*American Cotton.*—Mr. Henderson—800 pounds per acre at 20 per cent. higher price than Sindhi cotton, which comes to a little more than for Sindhi.

The Commissioner's Revenue Report is based on Sindhi cotton, and these figures show the great probability of a very large addition being made to British-grown cotton. This is one of the reasons why the canal should be constructed at once. As soon as the first section is opened, in four or five years, a block of a million acres in area, with an unlimited water-supply, will be ready for most valuable experiments in growing cotton of all descriptions, as well as rabi. This will show clearly if the barrage is required at once or can be postponed.

The figures given below show how the Rohri Canal without a barrage could pay its way, by cotton alone, with the Revenue Report rice and gardens and other kharif to make up 823,060 acres kharif, but without any rabi, except the 100,000 acres now on it. Of course, there would always be a large area of "bosi" and of rabi on wells, as there are thousands of wells now used for irrigation, the water-level in which will be raised considerably when the new canals are opened.

### EGYPTIAN COTTON

*If Egyptian cotton succeeds well, the annual out-turn has been estimated at 800,000 acres, and annual value at £12,000,000.*

Mr. Fletcher, when Deputy Director of Agriculture in Sind, in 1904, estimated that 800,000 acres of Egyptian cotton could be grown annually in this tract at a value of Rs. 225 (£15) per acre, "if the fibre is the same quality as in Egypt." This would give the value of cotton on the canal as £12,000,000.

It has been found that Egyptian cotton has not succeeded on a large scale, and it has not been allowed for by the Commissioner; but it may succeed on the Rohri Canal, where the soil is equal to the best soil in the world, with the exception of Egypt.

I give below some estimates of the value of Sindhi cotton which is likely to be grown, on the basis of 900 pounds per acre and Rs. 12 per maund.

		Acres.	Value per Acre.		Value of Crop on Canal.	
			Rs.		Lakhs Rs.	£
Sindhi cotton	Mr. W. H. Lucas	470,000	135	9	644	4,230,000
	Dr. Summers	700,000	135	9	945	6,300,000

Crop.	Area.	Gross Assessment per Acre.	Deduct—		Net Assessment per Acre.	Net Revenue from Each Item.	Return on Rohri Canal (450 Lakhs).	Remarks.
			Land Share, One-tenth.	Working Expenses.				
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Lakhs		
Cotton ... ..	600,000	6'0	0'6	1'2	4'2	25'2		In Egypt, when a block of land is changed from basin (flood) irrigation to canal (perennial) irrigation, about 80 to 90 per cent. of it is usually cultivated with cotton for several years, and it is almost a certainty that 500,000 acres, or only 23 per cent. of the culturable area, will be under cotton when the Rohri Canal is opened.
Rice and gardens	52,800	5'0	0'5	1'2	3'3	1'7		
Other kharif ...	170,260	4'0	0'4	1'2	2'4	4'1		
Rents and land *		—	—	—	—	2'5		
	823,060					33'5		
Deduct present net kharif revenue						8'4		
Net profit from kharif						25'1	5'6	
Add for increase of land from Rs. 10 to Rs. 50 per acre						6'6		
Net profit from kharif						31'7	7'0	

\* The Revenue Department have estimated only Rs. 10 (13s.) per acre as the sale price of 400,000 acres of unoccupied land after the canal is opened, which gives annually net revenue of—

$$\begin{aligned} \frac{4}{100} \times \frac{9}{10} \times 400,000 \text{ Rs. } 10 &= 1'6 \text{ lakhs.} \\ \text{Add allowance for rents and water-power} &= 0'9 \text{ lakhs.} \\ \hline \text{Total} &= 2'5 \text{ lakhs.} \end{aligned}$$

This table shows that —

(1) With the Revenue Report rates and land at only Rs. 10 per acre, the return with 600,000 acres cotton would be 5'6 per cent.

(2) With Chief Engineer's rate of Rs. 50 for land, the return would be 7'0 per cent.

(3) That there should be no difficulty whatever in the canal paying by itself until the barrage is constructed, as there is no question of deficiency of water for Sindhi and American cotton, on which the project is based.

## APPENDIX III

OPINIONS IN FAVOUR OF COMMENCING THE ROHRI  
CANAL BEFORE THE BARRAGE

(IN ORDER OF DATES)

MR. F. G. PRATT, Collector of Hyderabad (Sind)  
(February 19, 1909) :

"I agree with Dr. Summers' view that the Sukkur Barrage—so far, at any rate, as the Left Bank is concerned—is a problem not of the present, but of the future generations."

MR. T. B. ROBERTSON, Superintending Engineer (Sind)  
(January 4, 1910) :

"The day has not come yet for this great scheme. We will run a terrible risk of a great failure financially with the dam—as far as we can see no risk with the Rohri Canal—and can push on or hold back according to growth of cultivation and its quality."

SIR JOHN BENTON, K.C.S.I., Inspector-General of Irrigation  
(March 5, 1910) :

"I may here explain that the feasibility of operating the Left Bank (Rohri) Canal for a certain number of years without a barrage can be decided in a short period ; if the supply channel is completed in two or three years we can proceed to operate it at once, and if it does not silt we will have the requisite assurance that the construction of the barrage can be put off for the five or six years proposed by Dr. Summers ; if the channel does silt the barrage can be put in hand at once, and the two or three years' delay will not be of material importance.

"The escape will act as undersluices at the head of the Left Bank (Rohri) Canal, and will serve to admit of top water being procured, so that head silting in the Left Bank Canal need not be apprehended."

SIR THOMAS HIGHAM, K.C.I.E. (May 5, 1910).

"I may say that the idea of constructing and completing the Rohri Canal without a weir, leaving the weir to be constructed later if then found to be necessary, is entirely in accordance with the views of the Irrigation Commission, provided, of course, there is reasonable ground for supposing that the canal can be worked perennially without a weir, although, perhaps, not to such full advantage as if a weir were made. All the reasons you give for this are irrefutable, and the only argument that I can suggest on the other side is that, if the canal is constructed before the weir is undertaken, there are very considerable chances that the weir may never be built at all, which would be a disappointment to the advocates of heroic measures."

SIR THOMAS HIGHAM, K.C.I.E. (June 24, 1910):

"I think you have made out a strong case for deferring the actual construction of the weir until the Rohri Canal has been completed on the lines proposed by you."

W. L. CAMERON, C.S.I., Secretary to Government of Bombay, P.W.D. (August 2, 1910):

"Labour is limited, and it is important that the canal, or some portion of it, should be opened with the least possible delay; interest charges mount up very rapidly, and the sooner you begin to get a return for your money the better."

COLONEL SIR JOHN OTTLEY, K.C.I.E. (August 3, 1910):

"I have absolutely no doubt whatever that you are correct in urging that the Rohri Canal should be the first step, and *not* the barrage."

MR. A. D. YOUNGHUSBAND, C.S.I., Commissioner in Sind (October 3, 1910):

"Dr. Summers appears to have made out an excellent *prima facie* case for his contention that the tentative and gradual construction, on the lines indicated by him, of the Rohri Canal, can quite safely be taken in hand

in advance of the barrage. Unless this case can be rebutted, it would certainly appear that both economical and other considerations point to the order of construction advocated by him."

MR. R. B. JOYNER, C.I.E., Superintending Engineer in Sind (December 26, 1910):

"If the Rohri Canal when made can be adapted to utilize the barrage, it would seem natural to start with that."

MR. R. G. KENNEDY, C.I.E., Chief Engineer, Punjab (February 6, 1911):

"I agree with your idea of making the Rohri Canal first, and, if needed, the barrage afterwards. It seems to me that quite probably the barrage might never be needed, as, if you design your supply channel properly, with its escape back to the river, it could be used as a silt-trap, scoured out occasionally into the river."

MR. W. L. STRANGE, Chief Engineer in Sind (November 5, 1911):

"As long as the Rohri Canal can meet the demands of irrigation the barrage will be an unnecessary expense, and the interest charges will mount up."

SIR COLIN SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, K.C.S.I. (January 11, 1912):

"Go ahead with your canals, and get them into working order as inundation canals. Be studying the dam question all the time. Never let the Irrigation Department allow Government to take, for granted that a dam will not be wanted. It *will be wanted* if Sind is to be the Garden of India that I hope for. It won't be in my time, but it may be in yours."

(June 20, 1913)

"My opinion of the question of weir first versus canal first I can give in very few words. Without hesitation I say, Make the Rohri Canal first. This seems to me so evident that it is like flogging a dead horse."

## APPENDIX IV

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE SUKKUR  
BARRAGE COMMITTEE, 1913

*Paragraph 32.*—Indeed, from the remunerative aspect, it is possible that the only hope would lie in the direction of a scheme for a canal followed by a barrage as a definite project.

In addition to the proposal for a Rohri Canal without a barrage, or without a barrage for an indefinite time, a question with which the Committee have dealt in Paragraphs 23 to 28 of this report, Dr. Summers has suggested the construction of the barrage after the first and second sections of the canal have been completed and opened for irrigation. There is something to be said for this idea. It would mean that the canal would commence to earn revenue at a comparatively early date, and so reduce the burden of the interest debt. There would also be less risk of failure of supply, as without the help of the barrage water would only be required for the areas pertaining to the first and second sections, and the barrage would be completed before the third and largest section came into operation, but it would be attended with some risks; and in the absence of very carefully prepared forecasts of revenue and expenditure, accepted by the authorities in India, the Committee are unable to give it the necessary critical examination, and mention it only as a suggestion which has come before them.

## APPENDIX V

FINANCIAL NOTE ON THE TWO PROJECTS—NET  
PROFITS DUE TO ROHRI CANAL AND BARRAGE

As shown on p. 315, the Commissioner has estimated that an additional area of 108,070 acres of *kharif* will be cultivated on the canals supplied by the Nara River, and that a net profit of Rs. 40·4 lakhs will result from the construction of the canal and barrage.

After deducting 2·5 lakhs for maintenance of the barrage, this leaves a net profit of Rs. 38 lakhs as due to the canal and barrage (including widening the Nara Supply Channel), as under :

Canal.	Net Profit			Remarks
	From Kharif.	From Ra	Total.	
	Lakhs Rs.	Lakhs Rs.	Lakhs Rs.	
(a) Rohri	22·4	9·3	31·7	Mainly from changing lift cultivation into flow, and substituting cotton for less valuable crops.
(b) Nara River	5·4	2·1	7·5	Mainly due to an increase of 50 to 60 per cent. in assessment on cotton, which is now cultivated by flow.
c) Sukkur	1·0	0·2	1·2	Due to an increase of 50 per cent. in assessment on rice, which is now cultivated by flow, and gets an average of 1 cusec of full supply for every 20 acres.
Total	...	...	40·4	
Deduct for maintenance of barrage	...	...	2·5	
Net profit	...	...	38	



## ESTIMATED COST OF WORKS

The estimates for the work necessary to give this 38 lakhs, taken by the Government of India, are—

		Lakhs Rs.	
Rohri Canal ...	...	483	To carry a full discharge of 14,300 cusecs.
Barrage ...	...	266	
Widening Nara Supply Channel		33	
Total	...	782	

The Commissioner's estimate of 7.5 lakhs from the Nara Canals, as shown on page 19, is based on an increased *kharif* area of 108,070 acres, and on increases in assessments on *kharif* crops of 30 to 60 per cent.

No allowance, however, is made in the estimate of 782 lakhs for the works which are absolutely necessary to enable the canals to carry the extra water required for this additional cultivation; nor for the embankments necessary to protect the Nara River and the Eastern Nara tracts from floods, which come periodically from above Rohri, through the sandy desert to the west of Sind (see Map).

Rough estimates have been made for some of these works, such as 29 lakhs for flood embankments to protect the Eastern Nara irrigation, and 25 lakhs for enlarging the Mithrao Canal. Besides these, a large sum will be required for keeping floods out of the Nara Supply Channel and the Nara River.

After going into the question, I am of opinion that no appreciable profit will be available from the Nara River Canals to assist the barrage, over and above that required to pay the interest on their own new works.

With regard to the Sukkur Canal, the profit is almost entirely due to an increase of 50 per cent. in the assessment on rice. The supply to this canal will not be increased by the barrage, but may be considerably decreased, unless a new mouth is made to it in place of the present mouth, which will be masked by the Bell's bund (*G*), as shown on

enlarged map. Any extra revenue from this canal will not pay for its new mouth, so that nothing should be credited to the barrage from it.

It comes to this, that, owing mainly to the Right bank, the Sukkur Canal and Nara River tracts getting flow water at present, there is no chance of their bringing in any appreciable profits to pay for a barrage under present conditions.

The Rohri Canal must pay for the barrage, and this can only be done now by a large increase in the Commissioner's forecasts of revenue, or by waiting till rabi becomes popular, or pressure of population produces more intensive cultivation.

As I have shown in my reports, my rough estimates for the canal and barrage are—

		Lakhs Rs.	
Rohri Canal	...	500	To carry a full discharge of 15,500 cusecs required for the Commissioner's 886,135 acres of kharif.
Barrage (350 to 450 lakhs)	say	400	
Total	...	900	

To pay interest on this at 4 per cent. a net revenue of Rs. 36 lakhs is required; but on the Commissioner's net revenue (p. 315) of only Rs. 32 lakhs, or Rs. 29½ lakhs, after deducting for maintenance of barrage, the scheme cannot be remunerative.

If we include interest during construction of, say, 80 lakhs on the barrage, which can earn no revenue till it is completed, the total estimate will be 980 lakhs. This would require a net revenue of 39 lakhs to make it productive.

#### FORECASTS WHICH WOULD PAY FOR THE BARRAGE

If we ignore the revenue forecasts, which no Sind officer has proposed to do, the following sample estimates show how the canal and barrage together might be a productive work [see p. 328, *A* and *B*]:

## CANAL AND BARRAGE

A				B			
Crop.	Acres.	Net Assessment per Acre.	Net Profit on Each Crop.	Acres.	Net Assessment per Acre.	Net Profit on Each Crop.	Total Net Profit.
<b>KHARIF—</b>							
Rice ...	46,800	Rs. 3.3	Lakhs Rs. 1.5	46,800	Rs. 3.3	Lakhs Rs. 1.5	Lakhs Rs.
Gardens ...	6,000	3.3	0.2	6,000	3.3	0.2	
Cotton ...	435,260	6.9	30.0	435,260	4.2	18.3	
Other kharif ...	335,000	2.4	8.0	335,000	2.4	8.0	
Deduct present net kharif revenue	823,060	...	40.7	823,060	...	28.0	
	...	...	8.4	...	...	8.4	
Add—Rents and water-power	...	...	32.3	...	...	19.6	
Sale proceeds of land ...	...	...	0.9	...	...	0.9	
Net profit from kharif	...	...	1.7	...	...	1.7	22.2
<b>RABI—</b>							
Rabi ...	345,990	2.9	10.0	345,990	2.9	22.5	
Bersim ...	150,000	1.0	1.5	150,000	1.0	1.5	
Deduct present net rabi revenue	345,990	...	11.5	345,990	...	24.0	
	...	...	1.6	...	...	1.6	
Net profit from rabi	...	...	...	...	...	...	22.4
Net profit from kharif and rabi	...	...	...	...	...	...	44.6
Deduct for maintenance of barrage	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.5
Net profit from kharif and rabi	...	...	...	...	...	...	42.1
Return = 4.7 per cent. on 900 lakhs. Total cultivation, 1,169,050 acres. Intensity = 55 per cent. of cultivable area.				Return = 4.7 per cent. on 900 lakhs. Total cultivation, 1,599,050 acres. Intensity = 75 per cent. of cultivable area.			

NOTES.—1. If the sale price of land is increased from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30 per acre, the returns will be increased to 5.1 per cent.

2. For calculation of net assessments and sale proceeds of land, see p. 339.

3. Water has to be provided for 886,135 acres kharif, but the net revenues are calculated only on 823,060 acres kharif and 345,990 acres rabi, as it is assumed that no profit will come from jagir lands.

## NET REVENUES FROM ROHRI CANAL ALONE

The statement on p. 315 shows that the canal would pay on the Commissioner's kharif alone.

I am of opinion that the Commissioner's net revenue of Rs. 32 lakhs could be obtained from the canal alone, but for calculation of profits, I give below two sample forecasts :

C. Based on the Commissioner's forecast of kharif and of rabi and bersim in the first and second sections only, with 150,000 acres bosi rabi in the third section.

D. Based on 25 per cent. of the area under cotton, which I consider a safe estimate, and on the sale price of land at Rs. 30 per acre, with the same rabi, bersim, and bosi as in C (p. 349).

There is naturally much guesswork about revenue forecasts, and no two experts could give the same figures. Every engineer who has suggested areas of rabi for this canal has proposed much greater areas than Mr. Lucas. In my 1906 project I took 550,000 acres rabi, and the 1909 project was based on 791,698 acres rabi, proposed by the Chief Engineer, Bombay ; but Mr. Lucas, Commissioner in Sind, cut these down to 346,000 acres in Government land.

Only time will show whether Mr. Lucas is correct or the engineers, but the only safe plan appears to be to accept the Commissioner's moderate forecasts, and to make the canal first, as it will pay even on his kharif alone.

It would be a very backward step to reduce the kharif area and to make a smaller canal, as this would prevent the extension to, say, 75 per cent. of the cultivable area without enlargement of the canal, which would cause great inconvenience and loss both to Government and the zamindars.

If rabi becomes popular, and the intensity increases much above 55 per cent., the barrage can be constructed at any time.

It would be very risky, and would lead to almost certain failure, to construct the barrage along with the canal on the

CANAL ALONE

Crop.	Acres.	Net Assessment per Acre.	Net Profit on Each Crop.	Total Net Profit.	Acres.	Net Assessment per Acre.	Net Profit on Each Crop.	Total Net Profit.	
<b>KHARIF—</b>		Rs.	Lakhs Rs.	Lakhs Rs.		Rs.	Lakhs Rs.	Lakhs Rs.	
Rice ...	46,800	3'3	1'5	.	46,800	3'3	1'5		
Gardens ...	6,000	3'3	0'2	.	6,000	3'3	0'2		
Cotton ...	435,260	4'2	18'3	.	535,000	4'2	22'5		
Other kharif ...	335,000	2'4	8'0	.	235,000	2'4	5'6		
Deduct present net kharif revenue	823,060	...	28'0		822,800	...	29'8		
	...	...	8'4		...	...	8'4		
Add—Rents and water-power			19'6		...	...	21'4		
Sale proceeds of land ...	...	...	0'9		...	...	0'9		
	...	...	1'7		...	...	5'0		
Net profit from kharif	...	...		22'2	...	...		27'3	
<b>RABI—</b>									
Rabi ...	188,390	2'9	5'5		188,390	2'9	5'5		
Bersim ...	75,000	1'0	0'7		75,000	1'0	0'7		
Bosi rabi ...	150,000	2'5	3'7		150,000	2'5	3'7		
Deduct present net rabi revenue	338,390	...	9'9		338,390	...	9'9		
	...	...	1'6		...	...	1'6		
Net profit from rabi	...	...		8'3	...	...		8'3	
Net profit from kharif and rabi	...	...		30'5	...	...		35'6	
Return = 6'1 per cent on 500 lakhs. Total cultivation, excluding bersim, 1,161,450. Intensity = 54½ per cent. of cultivable area. If assessment on cotton is reduced to Rs. 5 per acre, the return will be reduced to 5'3 per cent.					Return = 7'1 per cent. on 500 lakhs. Total cultivation excluding bersim, 1,161,190. Intensity = 54½ per cent. of cultivable area. If assessment on cotton is reduced to Rs. 5 per acre, the return will be reduced to 6'2 per cent.				

chance of the rabi area being more than double that given by an experienced Sind officer like Mr. Lucas.

On the Jamrao Canal only Punjabi colonists really take advantage of the cold weather supply for rabi.

If Sindhis have a fair cotton crop, they do not trouble about rabi, which overlaps the cotton-picking season. The Rohri Canal tract will be cultivated almost entirely by Sindhis, as there is very little land available for colonists.

## GLOSSARY

Words.	Meanings.
<b>Bersim</b> - -	Egyptian clover.
<b>Bosi rabi</b> - -	Crops grown in the rabi season on land previously flooded from a canal in the inundation season.
<b>Bund</b> - - -	Embankment (generally applied to river embankments).
<b>Cusecs</b> - - -	Cubic feet per second.
<b>Dry crop</b> - -	In Sind, any crop except rice or sugar-cane.
<b>Full supply</b> -	The maximum supply carried by a canal.
<b>Inundation</b> -	Season when rivers are in flood.
<b>Jagirland</b> - -	Land granted revenue free, either in perpetuity or resumable in part on the death of the grantees.
<b>Kharif season</b>	Inundation or flood season.
<b>KMSL</b> - - -	Karachi mean sea-level.
<b>Lakh</b> - - -	100,000 (Rs. 100,000 = £6,700).
<b>Maund</b> - - -	80 pounds.
<b>Rabi season</b> -	The cold weather season, when the river is low.
<b>R.L.</b> - - -	Reduced level (in Sind, height above KMSL).
<b>Seepage</b> - -	See p. 332.
<b>Silt</b> - - -	Sediment brought down from the mountains by the river.
<b>Sind Sudhar</b> -	Sind Improvement (Sindhi name for Rōhri Canal).
<b>Zamindar</b> - -	Land-owner.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, July 27, 1914, a paper was read by Dr. T. Summers, C.I.E., D.Sc., M.I.C.E., entitled "Development of Cotton in India : Sind, a Second Egypt." Sir Walter C. Hughes, C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present : The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Andrew Wingate, K.C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Frank C. Gates, K.C.I.E., Sir Swinton Jacob, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. D. N. Reid, Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., A. Burnett Hurst, Esq., Mr. G. V. Utamsing, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. P. Phillipowsky, Mr. H. C. West, Mr. C. H. Payne, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. G. A. K. Luhani, Mr. Ibrahim S. Haji, Mr. S. W. Brett, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. Ali Fahmy Mohamed, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Mr. S. Hadwyn, Mr. A. Bruce-Joy, R.H.A., F.R.G.S., Colonel Lowry, Mr. A. F. Woodburn, Mrs. White, Mr. James Macdonald, Mr. John Reid, Mr. S. Hossein, Mr. S. S. Haji, Mr. F. H. Marchant, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

**LORD LAMINGTON :** Ladies and gentlemen, I have to express my regret that I cannot stay here to listen to what is, undoubtedly, a very interesting paper (I have already had the pleasure of reading it), and I therefore ask, as has been announced publicly, that Sir Walter Hughes should take the chair on this occasion. I cannot conceive anybody more competent to do so. I also hope that there are others here present who will be able to join in the discussion, which should be one of some moment, on this exceptionally interesting paper which has been prepared by Dr. Summers with reference to Sind, and which is very well worthy of your acceptance. I have to go down to the House of Lords, otherwise I should certainly stay.

**The CHAIRMAN :** Ladies and gentlemen, before proceeding with the business of the meeting I should like to mention that I have had a letter



from Lord Reay in which he expresses his great regret at being unable to attend this meeting.

I have now great pleasure in introducing to you my friend Dr. Summers, who proposes to lay before you this afternoon the subject of irrigation in Sind, more especially in connection with the development of cotton cultivation. For several years before his retirement Dr. Summers was Chief Engineer in Sind, and he was engaged in the investigation of projects of great magnitude for the extension of the irrigational system of the province. He possesses, therefore, great knowledge and experience of the subject. His services were rewarded by the recent bestowal of the Companionship of the Indian Empire, an honour that, on all hands, was regarded as thoroughly deserved, and I take this opportunity of warmly congratulating Dr. Summers on the distinction.

I now, with your permission, call upon Dr. Summers to read his paper.

The LECTURER, who was received with applause, then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, when I was first asked to preside at this meeting I sought to be excused on the ground of having no time, but I find it extremely difficult to say "No" to my friend Dr. Pollen when he is on the war-path, under the banner of the East India Association, and I gave in. Unfortunately, however, it is literally true that I have not had the time to go into this matter as fully as I would have liked, and I am sorry that I can give only a slender contribution towards this discussion; but with your permission I will give the substance of a few notes I made in going through the paper which has just been read by Dr. Summers. I am afraid I am not competent to offer any opinion on the prospects of cotton cultivation in Sind. The cotton of Guzerat and other parts of the Presidency is dependent on the rainfall, and there is, or used to be, a prejudice against irrigating the crop on the grounds that it resulted in more stalk at the expense of the cotton bolls. In Sind, however, cotton cannot be grown without irrigation, but this may be the explanation of the short staple of the indigenous cotton. I have received a letter from Sir Evan James on this branch of the subject, which I will ask the Secretary to read. I do not understand that reliance is placed on the introduction of exotic cotton into Sind; on the contrary, we are told that Egyptian cotton has not proved a success, and that the estimates of the Revenue receipts from the Rohri Canal are based on the cultivation being restricted to Sindhi cotton, which, though short in staple, commands a good price. The part of Dr. Summers' paper which refers to high-level perennial canals is of great interest to me. It is now more than forty years since I was first engaged on the plans of the Rohri Canal under General Fife, the originator of that great scheme, as he was of all the more important irrigational projects as yet undertaken throughout the length and breadth of the Bombay Presidency. I was then his personal assistant, and continued to serve in the Irrigation Department for, in all, about twenty years. During this period the Rohri Canal project was repeatedly, at intervals, under discussion. It was revived about 1890, shortly before my transfer to the Port Trust, and was then referred to a local committee, who pigeon-holed the scheme. Then came the Irrigation

Commission, and a more enlightened policy was inaugurated. It became a question not of whether the Rohri Canal shall be made or not, but of whether the canal or the "barrage" across the Indus at Sukkur should be made first. I gather from Appendix IV. to Dr. Summers' paper that a definite decision has now been come to, to the effect that the barrage shall be deferred, at any rate until after the first and second sections of the canal have been opened for irrigation. I presume, therefore, that it is the intention to sanction the canal to, at any rate, this extent. There is one point I should like to refer to as affecting the question of the return on the capital expenditure to be incurred on these works. It is the very heavy charges for establishment which are a serious dead weight. Dr. Summers' estimate of the cost of the canal is £3,300,000, and includes a sum of over £600,000 for public works establishment charges. This is exclusive of an army of foremen, timekeepers, clerks, and others who will be charged to works. The provision is calculated under departmental rates which I think do not make sufficient allowance for the circumstances attending the execution of a work of this magnitude, and it would seem that there is room for a very considerable economy in this respect. Any saving would, of course, proportionately enhance the percentage of profit on the total outlay.

The HON. SECRETARY read the following letters from Sir Evan James and Mr. Joyner expressing their regret at not being able to be present, and dealing with the subject under discussion :

*July 18, 1914.*

I am sorry I cannot come to the meeting at the Caxton Hall on Monday 27th, as I shall be in Wales on that day. Otherwise I should have liked very much to come, for the subject of cotton-growing in Sind is a subject which I worked up once, and I know something about, and I was Commissioner there for ten years.

People nowadays make the mistake of thinking that the problem of cotton-growing in India has not attracted attention before. Let me remind you, therefore, that the problem as it presented itself to Sind was thoroughly thrashed out for at least twenty or twenty-five years between, I think, 1865 and 1890. The Duke of Argyll—Secretary of State for India at the time of the cotton mania—sent out four Scotch gardeners to make thorough experiments in the growth of various staples of cotton, and one man was for, I suppose, quite twenty years manager of a model farm at Salaru, in the Hala Taluka, where the best Sind cotton used to come from. There he tried every sort and kind of cotton that was to be found, and after pretty exhaustive experiments came to the conclusion that no exotic cotton would flourish or pay in Sind. There exists an indigenous cotton in Sind which grows freely and plentifully, but its staple is very short and very weak ; its price is high, and its principal use is to be sent to Germany, where it is used for adulterating wool, and manufactured into so-called "whole wool" workmen's sweaters. Sind cotton also possesses a peculiar sheen, and is used for mixing, not to say adulterating, really good long staple cotton which has been dirtied or spoilt by the rain, as it gives it a much better appearance, which the spinners like.

Not very long before I left Sind—I think about 1898—possibly a year or two later—I received an application from a leading Parsee gentleman in Bombay asking if I would take the question up, and see whether Sind could not be used for growing valuable varieties of long staple cotton, like Sea Island, or the old Hinghan-Ghat cotton of the Berars and Central Provinces, which Lionel Ashburner introduced into Khandesh. I looked up the old reports of Mr. Strachan, and came to the conclusion that a renewal of the expenditure and efforts for introducing good exotic cotton into Sind would be a mistake; at any rate, I should have had no time to start the hare afresh, as I was leaving Sind very shortly, so I dropped the idea altogether.

I do not say that occasionally a good crop may not be raised from exotic seed in Sind, in particularly favoured places, such as newly formed virgin loam, but it won't last.

Cotton experiments in the Bombay Presidency, except as regards Dharwar, about which I will not speak, where the old cotton was very good, have, I am afraid, been a melancholy failure. Ashburner, at considerable expense, uprooted in the best Talukas of East Khandesh the old indigenous Khandesh cotton, and introduced fine, silky Hinghan Ghat seed. The prices of cotton were very very high at the time of the American War, and for a year or two later, and the Khandesh ryots made very large profits indeed, as the new cotton was grown over such large areas that the Khandesh cotton won a separate grade of its own. But gradually it was found that the out-turn of the crop could not be depended upon, owing to the climate, and when Ashburner left, the old Khandesh cotton, which at any rate produced plentiful crops, was reintroduced. Years later, when the late Mr. E. C. Ozanne was Director of Agriculture, he went into the history of cotton experiments in Khandesh very thoroughly, and he came to the conclusion that it would be of no use attempting Ashburner's drastic methods of forcing long staple cotton from Berar into Khandesh again, as the cultivators did not like it; they had found by experience that good plentiful crops were not to be depended upon, and owing to the abnormal prices of the cotton mania having subsided to something very small, the difference between the profits on long staple cotton (in many cases mixed with Khandesh cotton) would not pay them for abandoning the old indigenous staple cotton.

When I was Commissioner in Northern Division my attention was attracted to the great adulteration and bad state in which the old valuable Broach cotton was sent to Liverpool, leading to its fetching a very inferior price, and I went rather carefully into the matter, in order to see whether any Government supervision over the ginning factories, such as had existed during the period of the Cotton Frauds Act, would be of any use, as an increase in the price of the cotton of only a halfpenny or penny a pound would have been a great boon to the cultivators of the Broach cotton field. But I found it was no good interfering. After a long fight the merchants of Bombay had succeeded in procuring the repeal of the Cotton Frauds Act, alleging that there was no reason why Government should interfere in the cotton trade any more than in any other trade; that it was

entirely a matter of supply and demand; that the merchants were quite capable of looking after their own interests and buying what cotton suited the market; and I found that the Government also, after the very long discussion that had taken place before the Act was repealed, were entirely unwilling to reopen the question.

Nowadays one hears a great deal about the requirements of Lancashire, and the world generally, for more good cotton. We hear of extensive operations being undertaken in Nigeria, British East Africa, the Soudan, and other countries, and naturally people who know that India and Sind grow cotton of a kind begin to inquire why experiments should not be made there, and India turn out better and more plentiful supplies of cotton than it does at present. But they forget the subject has already been thrashed out *ad nauseam* in the last fifty years. Indeed, long before the cotton mania in the early '60's great efforts had been made by the Government to improve and extend cotton cultivation, and you would find in the India Office a great printed book on the subject (I forget the author's name, but I think it was Forbes, or Carsels) describing what had been done.

I think, therefore, had I been present at the meeting I should have invited attention to the past history of the question, with which I was familiar for thirty-five years, up to 1890, and suggest that enthusiasts should "gang warily."

(Signed) H. EVAN M. JAMES.

*July 25, 1914.*

I am very glad indeed that you have written your paper on "The Development of Cotton in India," by making the proposed perennial canal on the left bank of the Indus, as it cannot fail to help forward this grand project, which I was convinced twenty-three years ago was the finest and most promising irrigation project ever then brought forward in India.

To me, its very great utility is so self-evident, and its certainty of bringing both direct and indirect wealth to the Government and the people so sure, that it is impossible for me to understand how or why there should ever be any doubt about it. I see no difficulty at all which cannot be overcome. The great needs of the world now are, and still more in the future will be, cotton and wheat, and here we have great facilities for producing large quantities of both. If this grand proposal had been carried out twenty years back, when proposed by me, Sind would now be as it should be, and has been, one of the most fertile and prosperous parts of the world, and the Government and the people be many million pounds richer. To hesitate, now you have so ably brought it forward again, is simply criminal.

The great delay must be, I think, due to the barrage proposal, which has, to use a vulgar expression, "drawn a red herring across the trail." It is very difficult to say, with any certainty, what this barrage would ultimately cost, the difficulties of construction will be so great. Then there is, in my opinion, a great danger in placing a barrage across an enormous river, subject to such great floods, like the Indus, which is there still deltaic, running on a ridge, formed by the river itself, and which the river may so

easily remove. If that were to happen, the loss and destruction would be terrible. Then, are the advantages to be gained by the barrage enough to warrant its great cost and delay in construction, of the pressing demands of the country, and the possible great risk? I do not see that the advantages to be gained are so great. It would not provide water by storage, it only raises the level; but, as far as I remember at this long time, you have ample head to enable all the water to be satisfactorily utilized on the contemplated area.

The large irrigation works now carried out in the Punjab should tend to improve the supply of water in Sind, modifying the flow by taking up water when in excess, and giving it back to the river when it would otherwise be scarcer.

About the silting of the proposed canal head, as to which I understand some doubt has been expressed, I fully agree with you that this can undoubtedly be successfully provided against quite independently of any barrage. I have explained lately to you that what I proposed was to have a large settling basin just below the Bhakkar branch of the river, from which the canal headworks would take off. This would allow the heavy and infertile sandy silt to be deposited, and be periodically scoured through, by lifting large roller-bearing gates at both up and downstream ends and allowing the whole force of the river to rush through, the sand being stirred up mechanically if found necessary. The lighter fertile silt would pass into the canal, which would have a velocity sufficient to carry it, and so on to the fields. I consider there would be no difficulty experienced in keeping the head of the canal free from silt at all times by this or some similar method.

The sinful and absurd waste of money, water, and silt in so much of the land under command of the river from Sakkar, by letting water run down the river and then lifting it up, clear water only, at a still further great expenditure, should not have been allowed to continue so long.

Other parts of India have some rainfall to depend upon, so making expenditure on irrigation often uncertain of giving a return; but in Sind it is not so, and money spent there must, as there is practically no rainfall, give a certain return. This project would add a new province to the Empire of some 6,000 square miles of cotton and wheat close to one of the nearest ports to the West, from which both could often be exported when the cost of inland carriage might prevent export from the Punjab.

If irrigation in time proved so extensive in both Sind and the Punjab as to cause a shortage of water in some seasons, it would not be impossible, probably quite easy, to make enormous storage lakes at the foot of the Himalayas, where probably cheap sites for such could be found.

I am sorry I got the notice too late to attend the meeting, or I should certainly have attended.

(Signed) R. B. JOYNER, C.I.E., M.I.C.E.

MR. OWEN DUNN stated that he had not come prepared to speak on the subject under discussion, having, in fact, only had a copy of the paper since he entered the room, and he hoped that, as his remarks would be purely

spontaneous, allowance would be made for his not having been able to make any preparation.

He had been in Sind for about four and a half years, late in his service, but while there he was fortunate enough to be associated with Dr. Summers, and he would say from his experience that no man was better qualified to talk about the conditions in Sind and to express a sound opinion as regards irrigation canals in that country than the lecturer. Dr. Summers' outstanding characteristic was his dogged perseverance in anything he set his mind to. The Fuleli Canal owed much to this, and to it might, he thought, be attributed the fact that Dr. Summers was here to-day in excellent health, having absolutely refused to succumb to the many years of ill-health which were his portion in Sind. Mr. Dunn had no doubt that with his dour determination Dr. Summers will refuse to shuffle off this mortal coil until he has seen the Rohri Canal well under way. With regard to the arguments for the construction of the Rohri Canal in advance of the barrage Mr. Dunn was entirely in accord with them. He was very doubtful, however, concerning the eventual necessity for a barrage, which would be a very costly and hazardous undertaking—at all events as regards the canal on the left bank which Dr. Summers advocated, although possibly as regards the right bank it might one day be found advisable; but it would not then be under such favourable conditions, because the revenue already derived from the canals on the right bank was a very considerable one, and other and less expensive improvements might be possible. The one great desideratum with regard to the vast tract of land dealt with in Dr. Summers' project was to provide flow irrigation where there was now only lift. He considered that the Sindhis in the "flow" areas were very careless and wasteful cultivators, with a very exaggerated idea of the amount of water required for their crops, and sometimes flooded their land to such an extent that they did it more harm than good. This explained the great popularity of rice cultivation. In the "lift" areas much more care had to be exercised in the cultivation because of the labour and expense of lifting the water. The people who were accustomed to cultivation of that kind, when they got flow water given to them on a regular system, as adopted on the Chenab Canal and the Jamrao Canal, should undoubtedly prove a very excellent class of cultivators, and should show very good results. In the speaker's opinion, what was undoubtedly required was an ample volume of slow-flowing water carrying the fertilizing silt, which would flow over the ground. It had been shown by Dr. Summers that the canal he proposed would provide this for the large tract of land he was dealing with, and it was to be hoped that before long the Government authorities would see their way to sanction the project.

With regard to the subject of establishment charges, which had been mentioned by the Chairman, that had always been a great grievance in Sind. It was the Government rule that a large percentage for establishment charges should be provided in the estimates; but it was, he believed, now generally accepted that in a project of the magnitude under discussion the actual charges only should be debited against the scheme, plus a small percentage for secretariat and administration.

Reference had been made to the Fuleli Canal, and the speaker thought it ought to be known that the fact that the Fuleli was now keeping so clear of silt was due to a project of Dr. Summers, which the speaker had seen brought into operation, by which the water was enabled to have a free run into the Ran of Cutch.

MR. OWEN DUNN concluded his remarks by apologizing for the very incomplete manner in which he had been able to speak on an extremely interesting subject.

COLONEL YATE, M.P., remarked that he was not qualified to speak on the technical subject under discussion, but had come with the intention of learning, so as to be able to speak in the House of Commons when the Indian Estimates were under discussion. He thought they were all agreed that the great object was to increase the cultivation of cotton in India. Although the cotton staple in India was very short, and was mostly used in India itself and in Japan, yet every bale of cotton produced in India liberated a bale of longer staple cotton from somewhere else for use in Manchester or other places where it was so much required, and so tended to raise the world's supply. To him (the speaker), as a layman, it seemed that the irrigation project before the meeting should certainly be carried out. There was nothing to prevent it being carried out except the need of funds, and he hoped they would be able to induce the Government of India to provide those funds at the earliest possible moment.

MR. COLDSTREAM asked whether the Agricultural Department was continuing experiments to ascertain the qualities of the various cottons. About fifty years ago experiments were undertaken in the Punjab with Florida cotton and Egyptian cotton, and it would be interesting to know whether satisfactory conclusions had been reached as to the varieties which suited the various cotton districts of India.

MR. DONALD REID said he would like to speak on cotton cultivation from the point of view of a practical agriculturist. He had had for eleven years a sample of molasquit, a foodstuff prepared from the fibre of sugarcane and molasses, and it was still in good condition, but was, in his opinion, a poor foodstuff, and required to be mixed with concentrated food. As the best concentrated feeding-stuff in existence was decorticated cotton seed, he approved of the extension of cotton cultivation by every possible means in order to provide better food for the cattle of India.

MR. HADWYN asked if the lecturer could say how much capital would be required to form a company to develop his scheme on lines similar to that of the Cotton-Growing Association.

DR. POLLEN said that, as an old Sindhi, he would like to say how deeply impressed he had been by Dr. Summers' paper. He knew, in common with his friend Sir Evan James, Mr. Owen Dunn, Sir Andrew Wingate, and others, a good deal about the Sindis, and he thought that all those who had served in Sind had the same feeling of affection for the old province, and wished to see the people prosperous and happy. There was no more delightful country in India than

Sind, and the people themselves were thoroughly kind and devotedly loyal. They might perhaps be a little lax as cultivators, but they were a cheery, good-tempered race. They were, no doubt, happy-go-lucky, and seemed to act on the old Russian principle, "Perhaps! Don't be afraid! And God is not without mercy." But they managed to get on somehow. He had read with real pleasure Dr. Summers' able paper, and was highly gratified at the glorious prospect which it opened up, not only for Sind, but for the Empire at large. He had often wandered along the ridge that Dr. Summers had spoken about, and one could see that it was the ridge left by the great river when it made a highland for itself, along which it flowed before it burst its banks and took a direction to the right. He understood that the tendency of the Indus was nearly always to go right, and he believed that this was due to something in the way that the earth went round, or whatever it was that happened which caused the river to turn in that direction. It had often been explained to him that the Indus flowed along, as it were, on the top of the reverse of a plate. It heightened the back of the plate as it flowed along, throwing up its bank on both sides, and gradually rising higher and higher above the level of the land. When it rose too high it often burst its banks and took it into its head to wander a bit, and went off on an excursion, leaving its old bed sometimes six or seven, or even fifteen, miles away. He remembered how old Mir Ali Murad Khan (the Mir of Khairpur) once explained to him that there was no Tyrant in Sind nowadays, and that there was no such thing as personal tyranny under the British Raj, but that, nevertheless, there was an awful Tyrant in the land, and indeed throughout the whole of India, and that Tyrant was "English law." The Mir said "English law" was exactly like the River Indus—one never knew what it was going to do, and like the great river it would, without rhyme or reason, take away acres of one man's property in a night and give them to another! Dr. Pollen explained that he merely rose to express his admiration for Dr. Summers' excellent paper, and to say how thoroughly convinced he was that in his project for restoring the famous fertility of Sind Dr. Summers was profoundly right, and he (Dr. Pollen) could not understand how that strange creature the Government of India could have failed to have been convinced long ago by the very plain reason and arguments which had been urged for starting the Indus again on its old course, not as a wandering Tyrant, but under strict governmental control. Sir Walter Hughes had hinted at the expense of the project and the cost of its upkeep. But, after all, good things were cheap no matter what they cost, and the proposed scheme was a good one and well worth the proposed expenditure. He therefore hoped the Government would see their way to do what Dr. Summers recommended, and the sooner they did so the better for Sind and all concerned.

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL said he rose to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman and to Dr. Summers. The Association was indebted to Sir Walter Hughes for his presence, and for presiding on this occasion. Dr. Summers had evidently taken a great deal of pains to elaborate the scheme that had been put before the meeting, and the speaker hoped that success would attend his efforts.



SIR ANDREW WINGATE stated that he rose to second the vote of thanks. He thought that they should all be very grateful to Sir Walter Hughes for presiding at the meeting to-day, because he was one of the men who belonged to the Bombay Presidency, who had done a wonderful amount of work for Bombay, the gateway of India, and his name carried immense weight. He stated that he had had the pleasure of knowing Dr. Summers in Sind, although he did not expect that Dr. Summers remembered him. On that occasion he was very much impressed with Dr. Summers' enthusiasm, and all who had heard the paper read to-day felt that his heart was in Sind and in this particular work. A good deal had been said about the finance, which was a very important point. Finances had been going in the way of irrigation of the Punjab a great deal, and people who landed at Karachi could see the enormous new wharves and extensions going on, and would naturally think that it is all due to an increase in Sind; but it was due to the increase in the Punjab. Those great projects were coming to an end, and he ventured to think that the turn of Sind was coming. It had been said that Sind had got tremendous possibilities before it, but that the water had been taken up; but he was very glad to hear that it had not injured the prospects of Sind at all, and that the present project, from an engineering point of view, was quite good. That was the great point. He had not the slightest doubt that the project would come. With regard to the estimates of revenue, he was very glad to hear what had been said about them. The assessment now was said to be Rs. 4 or Rs. 5, and it was proposed to be Rs. 6. He thought that that was about as high as you could go, and did not think it likely that you would be able to get Rs. 9, because there were great projects in the Soudan and also in the Euphrates Valley, and one felt that no figures ought to be based upon any very sanguine estimates of the assessment. One liked to feel that the cultivators, when they got the canal, would have a benefit, and that the last rupee would not be taken out of them. On these grounds he had the greatest pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks.

DR. SUMMERS, in thanking the meeting for the kind way in which they had received his paper, said he hoped that it would assist in advancing Sind's development. He said that several suggestions had been made regarding the construction of the Rohri Canal by a company. The first was in 1854, during the great irrigation boom, when several Indian officials, with Colonel Grant as Chairman, met in London and proposed to form a "Company of Water Merchants" to promote the construction of irrigation and navigation canals all over India. They proposed to begin with a modest capital of £500,000, and to start with the most promising work in India, the Rohri Canal, the success of which they anticipated would lead to a rush for the £300,000,000 stock, their proposed ultimate capital. The East India Company, as a matter of form, were to be requested to guarantee a dividend of 5 per cent.

The next suggestion for a company was made in 1892, but like that of 1854, it did not mature. Dr. Summers said he had just heard from India that a syndicate is ready to construct the Rohri Canal and barrage on condition that the whole of the profits are given to the company; but this

could only pay if the syndicate were allowed to charge their own rates of assessment, which Government would never consent to. The only practicable company would be one to construct the canal first, with a guarantee of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  or 4 per cent., half profits above the guarantee to go to Government, and half to the company. The rates of assessment to be fixed by Government, who would undertake the management of the canals. With regard to the capital required, probably a million to a million and a half would be sufficient, as revenue would begin to come in, after three or four years, when the first section of the canal is opened.

As to the value of Sind cotton, Mr. Schmidt, the Secretary of the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners, has pointed out in his recent report on Indian cotton that it is highly appreciated, on account of its whiteness, for mixing with other cottons. To show the profits made from Sind cotton, Dr. Summers gave an instance of a Parsi subordinate who was given 1,500 acres on retirement, and who stated that within a year or two he made over £500 profit. He now owns houses both at Hyderabad and on his estate: It is not uncommon for men to make 50 to 75 per cent. on money invested in land. The Rohri tract is full of wealth, but it is hardly touched yet. It only wants water to make valuable crops grow at once.

On the right bank of the Indus below Sukkur, about 60 per cent. of the culturable land is cultivated annually, because the land lies low compared with the river, and so gets water by flow. On the left bank the land lies so high that water cannot flow on to it, but cultivators have to lift it on to their fields, sometimes as much as 20 feet, at great cost and waste of labour. The cost of lift is estimated at 7s. to £1 per acre, while the people will have to pay a rent of only 8s. per acre for cotton. In Egypt the average rent for cotton land is from £4 to £5 per acre, and in Scotland 25s. to 30s. is an ordinary rent for average cultivable land. The scheme including the barrage cannot pay with cotton at 8s. per acre on the Commissioner's forecast.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to associate myself with all that has been said in appreciation of Dr. Summers' paper and with the vote of thanks that has been passed to him for the very interesting paper that he has given us this afternoon. I also thank the mover and the seconder for their remarks with reference to myself.

Mr. W. L. Strange, late Chief Engineer in Sind, writes :

The arrangements generally adopted in modern canals, fed from silt-laden rivers, to diminish the tendency of such works to silt are :

(a) To let the river approach the head regulator of the canal with as gentle and regular flow as practicable, so as to prevent the stirring up of heavy sand, pebbles, etc., from the river bed and its carriage into the canal.

(b) The widening of the canal head and head regulator to reduce the inlet velocity of the river water and its power to carry heavy silt.

(c) The taking into the canal of top water from the river, as this contains only the lightest particles of silt.

(d) The provision of large escape discharging power below the head regulator, so as to get rid of heavy silt which has been deposited in the canal.

At the head of the proposed Rohri Canal there is not any special difficulty in arranging for (a), (b), and (c), while the existence of a considerable fall in the River at the Sukkur Gorge, immediately down stream of the proposed take-off, is a condition unusually favourable for (d).

Mr. Arno Schmidt, Secretary of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, writes :

I was unfortunately prevented from being present at the lecture of Dr. Summers dealing with the prospects of cotton cultivation in Sind. I have read Dr. Summers' paper, and would have liked to have made the following remarks had I been present :

"I have undertaken three tours of investigation through the cotton-growing districts of India, and have visited Sind twice. In October last I stayed at Hyderabad, Mirpurkhas, Sukkur, and Shikarpur. As regards the general impression, may I say that, having had the advantage of travelling through Egypt, I could not help but liken the characteristics of Sind to those existing in Egypt.

"The cotton grown in Sind at present is, of course, of quite a different type from that produced in Egypt, but even the Egyptian cotton experiments undertaken by the Government some years ago have proved the feasibility of producing a high-priced cotton, provided sufficient water is obtainable for irrigation. The few defects in the cotton produced by these experiments could be traced to the inexperience of the cultivators in growing the superior cotton, and to the difficulty of marketing the different lots. An English spinner, who used some lots of the Egyptian cotton grown in Sind, stated that they were quite equal to the cotton which he received from Egypt.

"As regards the American cotton grown in Sind, the Bombay Millowners' Syndicate, which was established there two years ago for the purpose of buying cotton, expressed itself as highly satisfied with the cotton obtained. This cotton grown in Sind from American seed is used by the Bombay mills to replace cotton which they would have had to import from America. At a recent meeting of the Committee of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, Mr. N. N. Wadia, of Bombay, exhibited a sample of American cotton grown in Sind, and it was the unanimous opinion of the Committee that this cotton could be used with advantage in all the European countries, including England.

"As regards the indigenous kind of cotton which is at present grown by most cultivators in Sind, I may say that it is very strong, although short. It has a beautiful white colour, for which reason it is highly appreciated by the spinners in India, and especially on the Continent. Owing to the

excellent colour, it is frequently mixed with American cotton to improve the colour of the latter. Cotton grown in the Punjab is often sold as Sind cotton, as the reputation of the latter is greater than that of the former.

“The construction of the Rohri Canal in Sind would undoubtedly be welcomed by the cotton industry of the world, as large quantities of very serviceable cotton would be then produced on at least half a million acres. The cotton industry is anxious to increase its supply, as, owing to the enormous increase in the consumption of cotton, which is partly due to the many additional uses to which cotton is being put, the cotton industry is suffering already from a shortage of the raw material.”

## TURKEY, ENGLAND, AND THE PRESENT CRISIS\*

BY MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

I HAVE been asked to speak to you about Turkey—present-day Turkey from a political point of view. Well, in its relation to the Powers of Europe, the history of Turkey, for a generation past, may be roughly described as a long fight for influence between Russia and Germany, with varying fortunes, throughout which the Turks themselves, the great majority among them, heartily distrusted both those Powers, and desired no other help than that of England. You will remember the great spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm for England which marked the Turkish Revolution of 1908, and the no less noteworthy manifestations of dislike for Germany. Germany had become identified in the popular imagination with the tyranny of Abdur Hamid II., even more than Russia—the Power which, as we now know, was in great measure responsible for the existence of that tyranny—the most cruel that the Turkish Empire has endured. For the Czar had personally promised, early in that Sultan's reign, that Russia would not again make war on Turkey so long as the Constitution was withheld. England, the old ally of Turkey, remained the favourite of the Turkish people. The name of England carried with it the ideas of honest

\* Address delivered at a private house in London, September 15, 1914.

dealing, progress, and enlightenment. The days of the British alliance were looked back on almost as a Golden Age. The pro-British Midhat Pasha became the national hero, though his name had to be whispered while the tyrant reigned. You know the fate of Midhat. He was strangled in exile, and his head was sent by post to Yildiz in a box labelled "Objet d'Art. Précieux." But I am not here to dwell upon the horrors of the old régime, which had (as I know well) its genial side, and even its advantages, for Turkey. It is dead and buried. Let it rest. My concern to-night is with the new régime inaugurated at the Revolution.

The Young Turks, I find, are pretty generally distrusted here in England, quite unreasonably. They are blamed for everything that has befallen their unlucky country in these last six years. People say that they have made their country bankrupt, when the truth is they inherited a bankrupt country from the old régime. They have been blamed for demoralizing the Turkish army, when the truth is, as I personally can bear witness, that they have in every way enormously improved it. All their great reforms, achieved or in the process of achievement, are derided. Most strange of all, coming from the lips of Englishmen, is the objection: "They are mostly Jews"! That is quite untrue. There are more Christians than Jews among the Young Turk party, of which all the Christian and the Jewish members put together constitute but a small minority. There are Jews and Christians also in the Old Turk party—a much smaller one—in very much the same proportion. No party that excluded Jews and Christians could fairly claim to represent the Turkish Empire. But the majority of the Young Turks—some of whom are very aged, are real old-fashioned Muslims—Turks *par excellence*. That party would more accurately be described as the Nationalist Turkish party, as opposed to the clique of wealthy old officials—there is no aristocracy in Turkey—whose ideals are generally cosmopolitan, and their manners French.

Those old officials have never looked on Turkey as a beloved country, but as a position only to be maintained by favour of this, that, or the other Power of Europe. The Union and Progress party, on the contrary, has a national ideal and a fine one, which accounts for its increasing hold upon the people. It was guilty of great blunders at the outset, including as it did among its leaders a few individuals who knew much more of Paris than they did of Turkey, and had more sympathy with French agnostics than with true believers. One heard of officers in the army mocking the soldiers at their prayers ; of proposals, than which nothing more unpopular could be imagined, that all the Empire should at once discard the fez and take to hats. But that was only in the first two years. The spirit of the Young Turk movement was against these anti-Turks, as I must call them, who very soon returned in great disgust to Paris, where you may hear them saying that the Turks are quite uncivilized. Then, in the period of German influence, there came the scheme for Ottomanizing the whole Empire, the disarming of the Macedonians and Albanians. That was a very serious mistake of policy. But the men who made it were not animated by brutality. They had a great idea ; they wished to realize it hastily ; time was evidently short for Europe menaced ; and what very few people seem to realize is that it was the astonishing success, and not the failure, of their efforts which produced that fury of the Balkan States of which we now see the result. The Young Turks are not incapable, believe me ; their initial, irretrievable mistake was in ever regarding Macedonia, with its medley of conflicting races, as the heart of Turkey, which they certainly did. The mistake is not, perhaps, unnatural when we recollect that the Revolution had its origin in Macedonia, and that so many of the Young Turk leaders sprang from thence. During their first four years of power they spent much money upon public works, and much attention on reforms in European Turkey, and neglected Asia. It was Macedonia first. One must remember that.

Well, whatever may have been the merits of the Ottomanizing scheme, it angered not only Macedonians and Albanians, but Circassians, Kurds, and Arabs. There can be little doubt that the fall of the Young Turks in July, 1912, was welcomed by a great majority of people in the Turkish Empire. It was in reality a great disaster for the country, for their successors were, with one or two exceptions, incapable. They tampered with the army, persecuting Union and Progress officers, and, by their foolish trust in the assurances of certain Powers of Europe, made possible the great disaster of the Balkan War. No one outside their own adherents—who have been described “the upper ten thousand of old Hamidian days” (they actually numbered 13,000 who could be relied on, for the lists were found after the assassination of poor Mahmud Shevket)—no one outside their own adherents bewailed their downfall in the little revolution of January, 1913, though many people, including thousands of Young Turks, bewailed the death of Nâzim in that revolution. It was a very different Young Turk party which returned to power in January from that which fell from office in July. Many of the chiefs had been in prison or in exile; some had served unknown as privates in the Turkish army. They had all been through the valley of humiliation both as patriots and individuals. Two months after their return to power, one of their most violent opponents, at the time in hiding in my village on the coast of Asia, said to me: “Who is inspiring them? Those fellows could not do so much good work in two short months if they depended only on their own capacities.” It was experience which inspired them. Before Mahmud Shevket Pasha met his death they had done admirable work, and his spirit seems to dwell with his survivors. I saw the marvellous change which was wrought in five months—months of infinite depression for the Turks—and with the country bankrupt. The Civil Service by the end of those five months had been working without pay for near a year. Ministers of State were making shift with half—



at times even a third—of their salaries. Every penny that could be obtained was spent upon the army and on public works. A capital in such case might well deteriorate ; Constantinople in its Turkish aspect improved steadily. It gathered fresh enthusiasm, and radiated hope into the provinces. That gave me a respect for the Young Turks as earnest patriots. No other men in Turkey could have done what they did.

Now there seems to be a notion prevalent in England that the Young Turks, as a party, are pro-German. Look at the facts. We have already noticed their enthusiasm for England at the Revolution. How did they after that come under German influence, and so soon? Well, for one thing, I suppose that everybody will admit that our diplomacy was hopelessly outclassed. We had nobody in all our foreign service to compare with the late Baron Marschall von Bieberstein. And the British Embassy at Constantinople has not of late years been particularly brilliant. Also we were hampered by our understanding with Russia—a thing the Turks could never understand. England the friend of liberty—and Russia! Only to-day they see the meaning of it, and forgive us. But the principal reason was our utter lack of tact, and, I may add, of comprehension—the two generally go together. We attached a condition to our support of the Young Turks: that they should accept old Kiamil Pasha, England's ancient protégé, as head of their new Turkey. Now, Kiamil Pasha was not a bad man, and had been something of a statesman in his day; but he was very old, and, being old, conservative; and his sons were as the sons of Eli, bywords for corruption. The Young Turks, who were burning to begin reforms at once, and had a standard of integrity, tried working with them for a time, but not for long. And then began a period of disillusion with the ways of England. The English would not deal with the Committee, nor recognize the least necessity for its existence when once the Constitution had been re-established. They would not see the point of the Young

Turks' objection that the Constitution required careful watching for a term of years. So it got about that England, moved by Russia, wanted to restore the old régime. Germany, on the other hand, recognized the Committee. Germany was therefore the one Power who could be looked to to defend the Turkish Empire against Russia, the hereditary foe. But the Young Turks as a party would at any moment have preferred the hand of England to the hand of Germany. Nor is that the only time when, as they consider, England failed them. After the Bulgars, Serbs, and Russian volunteers took Adrianople, Mahmud Shevket Pasha, wishing to do the best he could for what remained of the Ottoman Empire, after consultation with his colleagues, asked that England would undertake the whole control of the reforms in Turkey for a term of years. The request was for an English dictator and for British officials for all departments. It amounted to an offer of a virtual protectorate of the whole of the Sultan's dominions. Only after that request, and others less inordinate, had been refused, did the Sublime Porte beg at least for some inspectors for Armenia, basing their demand upon the Cyprus Convention. The last most moderate request was granted, as they all believed; it was refused months later because Russia and Germany seemed to be approaching an agreement with regard to Turkey. Then once more the Young Turks, repulsed by the one Power whose interests were opposed to a partition of their country, had to revert to the old Hamidian policy of playing off one Power against another. I do not think that they have ever been pro-Germans, with one notable but not very influential exception, save by force of circumstances.

It is indeed remarkable how weak is the pro-German feeling out in Turkey now, considering that Germany has really done some little for the Turks. On two occasions she has prevented naval demonstrations against Turkey—proposed on both occasions, I believe, by Grey—to coerce Turkey into an acceptance of unfair demands, and it is

remarkable how strong is the pro-British feeling, considering the treatment Turkey has received from England. The truth is there was never any general liking for the Germans, who were too obviously playing their own game in Turkey. And the present war has shown the Turks a reason they can understand for England's rather ignominious adherence to Russia, which so long has puzzled them. Germany has increased the burden of their financial obligations cruelly. England had in past days tried to lighten it.

And that brings me to a burning question of the moment—the Capitulations. The Ambassadors of the Entente Powers called lately, as you know, upon the Grand Vizier almost as suppliants. They offered to guarantee the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire against all comers, if Turkey gave no active help to Germany. The offer coming from the three was suspect. The private word of England only would have had more weight. And what, after all, did such an offer mean? Turkey had no real independence under the Capitulations which were like a rope being gradually tightened round her throat. The offer, as it was made, meant actually nothing more than that the Triple Entente would stand guard over Turkey as a dog stands guard over a cherished bone. If it meant no more than that, it promised no advantage: obviously the reverse. To test the sincerity of the offer, Turkey has proclaimed her independence. The retort is logical and, I think, amusing. It is in strict accordance with the Turkish proclamation of neutrality, since it hits all Europe equally—Germany and Austria quite as hard as France and Russia. But hardest hit of all will be the little Eastern Christian States who made use of the privileges of their subjects under the Capitulations to irritate and wound the Muslims. The moment is well chosen. No one can do anything that I can see, unless Italy prefers to give up her designs upon Albania for a war with Turkey upon equal terms. England can benefit substantially by Turkey's

mood, if English statesmen have the nous to see it. The Sultan's irâdeh abolishing the Capitulations applies, upon the face of it irâdeh to Egypt. Without that we should have had years of trouble to get rid of the Capitulations, which have greatly hindered, as you know, our work in Egypt; we could have got rid of them only by slow steps of compromise, with endless haggling. There is one very real advantage for us. And if, openly or not, England can support the Turks in this matter, which they regard as vital to their future welfare, she will deal a blow at the influence of Germany from which that influence will never recover. But England must dissociate herself in this from Russia, or Turks will not believe a word she says.

Foreign residents in Turkey have something to fear in the department of justice, but only, I believe, at first. The Shari'at (the sacred law of El Islam) is only in name the common law of Turkey at this moment. A vast body of precedent, compromise, and custom, has for years been growing up beside it—even as our civil law and our religious liberties grew up in Europe in the Middle Ages, when we also had our Shari'at. But while the Capitulations are in force, the Muslims could not feel themselves free parties to such compromises. The natural course of evolution was for ever being checked by irritation. When the Muslims feel themselves free agents, they will quickly, in these days of newspapers and education, recognize the absolute necessity of all that body of hitherto unsanctioned law which I have mentioned. The end of the Capitulations will at the same time give the central government new strength and new authority to stop disorders. We must understand that the Porte is not abolishing consular protection, that it is perfectly aware that at the present moment, in spite of all the really splendid work that has been done in that department since the revolution, justice is far from perfect in the Turkish Empire. They are prepared to make special agreements—of a temporary nature—with the various Powers for the protection of their “nationals” in a given

district, or throughout the Empire ; indeed, they are prepared to entertain any proposal that does not touch their independence. It is only the system, peculiar to the Ottoman Empire, which had to go. It was either that or Turkey. They have diagnosed the case correctly, and have seen the only remedy—a risky one, perhaps, but it was that or death. Vested interests, we know, are very sacred, but the life of nations surely has a higher claim.

The Turks have this great weakness, they are most abominably proud, and are apt to treat the other races in the empire, Muslims as Christians, very much *de haut en bas*. You could hardly conceive the trouble in Constantinople in February and March, 1913, to get the average Turk to recognize that the feelings and opinions of their Arab subjects might be worth considering, or that the Arab question was of much importance. I am speaking of the rank and file. In high official circles there was much less difficulty, and Mahmud Shevket Pasha, Khalil Bey, and Kheyri Bey (the present Sheykh ul Islâm), to name but three, were already quite alive to the importance of the Arab grievances, and anxious to redress them. The danger of the Arab question then and now is this: For many years there has been preached in Syria, Mesopotamia, and throughout Arabia the gospel of an Arab Empire under the Khedive. The Egyptians by themselves are much too peaceable and self-indulgent ever to be able to throw off the English yoke. But if a multitude of warlike Arabs could be brought under that yoke, to share its gall and its good discipline for a while, in a few years European rule would cease in Western Asia and North Africa. The Khedive is really very clever. He has managed to get favour for his propaganda even in official circles here in England. I have heard prominent politicians talk with equanimity of dividing Turkey, and transferring the Caliphate to Mecca. That is the whole scheme. It has been more or less the project of all the pashas of Egypt since Mehemed Ali. As I desire the progress of the human

race, and as I have a sentimental feeling for the British Empire, that scheme does not arride me in the least. The mentality of the Turks and Arabs is quite different. All the progressive notions which the latter have assimilated have come to them, not direct from Europe, but by way of Turkey. Much as I love the Arabs, I should regard it as a great disaster to the causes of religious toleration and of human progress if the Turks should lose the headship of the Muslim world. Well, the Young Turks have done something for the Arabs. The law of the vilayets, drawn up while I was in Constantinople, provides for a fair measure of autonomy for them and all the other subject races, and for the enlargement of that autonomy in times to come. And the Arabs have been much consulted lately, which shows that law is being sensibly interpreted.

There is another matter which I want to say a word about—the question of the islands. The attempt at compromise at Bukarest has failed. The Turks, as I have already said, are abominably proud of their position as a race of conquerors, and always treat the Greeks as inferiors; and the Greeks, puffed up by their successes in the Balkan War, imagine they can claim the universe. It is manifestly impossible for the Turks, for strategic reasons, tamely to relinquish islands which command the port of Smyrna and the Gulf of Aïvali. The award of those islands by the Powers to Greece is really hard on them. On the other hand, ethnologically speaking, the islands in question may be marked as Greek, and it is hard, we must suppose, for Greeks to bear the yoke, however light, of Muslims. The Porte has offered autonomy to those islands under a Christian governor appointed by the Sultan only, not, as in the case of the Lebanon, by the Sultan subject to the veto of the Powers. The reason is that it wishes to avoid anomalous régimes, of which it has too many on its hands already. The Greeks insist upon retaining some hold upon the islands in question. A close alliance between Greece and Turkey, both menaced by pan-Slavism, would have

been quite natural but for the late Balkan War, and the inordinate dilation of the Great Idea consequent upon Greek victories, the unusual touchiness of Ottoman pride consequent on Turkish losses. Such an alliance would have settled the whole business naturally. But at present it is difficult to see a way out of the deadlock save by war. I think it possible that the abolition of the Capitulations will simplify the problem greatly, by causing the Greek agitation to depart in haste from Turkey. Greece has used the Capitulations without mercy for political ends. It is also possible that Turkey would reduce her claim upon the islands if Greece accepted her action in the matter of the Capitulations. But Turkey must have some strategic hold upon the islands, or Greece will one day raid the coast of Asia Minor. It is possible that she would admit a Greek official to each island in the same position as the Cadi holds in Tripoli. Further than that she cannot venture in concessions, having regard to public opinion, which is much excited on the subject. If Turkey goes to war, it will be entirely on her own affairs, and not upon behalf of Germany. That, at least, is my conviction.

But suppose that the matter of the Capitulations, which Turkey makes the price of her neutrality, were to be so handled by the Entente Powers that Turkey should be practically driven to take part with Germany. The case does not seem likely, but it is just possible. I gather, by the minatory accents of the English Press, when viewing that contingency some days ago, that we should then give Russia a free hand with Turkey. Oh, the folly of some people! We could better afford to let Germany have Belgium and Holland, aye, and to give her Nigeria and the Gold Coast into the bargain, than we can afford to see Turkey wiped out of existence. This is not the last great war which we shall have to wage, and a great Power holding—even though it were by deputy—Constantinople and the Dardanelles would very soon become too strong for us. As for making Constantinople international, as has

been proposed, we have lately seen the worth in war of mere neutrality. No great but a sufficient power is what we need upon the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, and Turkey, freed from the Capitulations, once more strong within her narrowed limits, answers our requirements better than any other Power that one can see. Even if she fought with Russia on behalf of Germany, we should do wisely in our own interests still to guarantee her integrity and independence. Any further depredations upon Turkey involve more formidable shifting of world-powers even than this present awful struggle. And Turkey at this moment looks to England. On Saturday last, when the news of her proclamation of independence was in all the papers, a well-known Turk—and not a Young Turk either—said to me with flashing eyes: “Let England help us now, and when you have your next great war, which we can all see coming, we will throw into the field a million men, every one of whom will gladly die for you, with praise to God.” I verily believe they would.



# THE INDIAN MYTH OF "CHURNING THE OCEAN" INTERPRETED: AN IMPORTANT NEW CHAPTER IN ARYAN PRE-HISTORY

BY L. A. WADDELL, C.B., C.I.E., LL.D.

THE ancient Indian myth of the "Churning of the Ocean" by the Gods in order to obtain the Elixir of Life and Immortality, which forms a striking episode in both of the great Indian epics and in later Brahmanist literature as well, is generally regarded as the mere fanciful and arbitrary products of the grotesque imagination of Brahmanical bards, and wanting in any obvious meaning. No one appears even to have seriously regarded it as of possible cosmic significance, except Kuhn and Senart; the former seeing in the products of the churning merely different manifestations of cosmic fire or lightning, and the latter "the synonymy of the gem and the trident."

Now, however, on re-examining this classic myth, I have discovered that it is of *far-reaching ethnic and historical importance, and that it discloses an important new chapter in proto-Aryan history*. It is obviously *a vestige of the prehistoric Aryan period, preserving an archaic philosophic view of the Creation of the Universe from Chaos*, and it clearly dates back to the proto-Aryan period—that is to say, before the dispersion not only of the Indian from the Aryan, but before the emergence of the European branch of the Aryan race. For the products of the churning are found in the identical

order and form, also in the mythology of Greece and Rome. Its elements, indeed, are now seen to form *the foundation of all the chief forms of Aryan religious myth, European, Persian, and Indian.*

But the greatest significance of this discovery is that *it brings the proto-Aryan civilization into direct contact with the source of the earliest culture of the world,\** as the elements in question are clearly traceable to Babylonian cosmogony, after it had been given an astrological basis. Its fresh light also enables us to co-ordinate and explain many important points hitherto irreconcilable in the mythology of the three great branches of our Aryan race—the Armeno-Iranian, Indian, and the early Greco-Teutonic.

The metaphor of "churning" appears to me to be manifestly the outcome of an attempt by a primitive people in the pastoral stage of society to explain the evolution of the solid bodies of organic Nature from the amorphous fluid of the Primeval Waters, by the homely mechanical means best known to the people for extracting solids from a liquid.

#### PRE-VEDIC ORIGIN OF THE CHURNING MYTH

The churning episode is frankly an event of the pre-Vedic and pre-Brahmanical period, because it is performed through the agency of the *Asuras* (the *Uranidai* of the Greek)—that is to say, the Aryan gods, of whom *Ahura Mazda* (*Varuna*, the Greek *Uranos*) was chief, and therefore at a period before the separation of the Indian from the Iranian stock—*i.e.*, anterior to  $\pm$  1400-1200 B.C.

The *essential* agents in the churning are, I find, only two—namely, the primeval Serpent of the Deep, "The Infinite or Eternal One" (*Ananta* or *Vāsuki*)† on the one hand,

\* That is, if we accept the view now gaining ground that the Egyptian culture was derived from the Babylonian.

† *Vāsu* = "jewel" + *ka*, "head," is the usual etymology of this serpent-deity of treasure (Wilson, *Sansk. Dict.*, 184, 781); but I would suggest as a possible equation *Vas*, to abide + *ka*, water.

and the Asuras who held the head of the serpent in using the latter as the churning-rod on the other. In all the various versions of the episode, in the epics and *Purāṇas*, none of the Brahmanical gods take any effective part whatever in the process of extracting the "Treasures" of the Deep—that is, the objects which were created.

The Brahmanical gods are altogether superfluous to theme, and are confessedly powerless to extract a single treasure.\* Even the supreme Brahmanist gods *Nārāyaṇa* and *Brahmā* take no part in the actual operation. *Brahmā* (who was not certainly evolved as a god in the latest Vedic period—i.e., about 500 B.C.) merely acts as a messenger to *Nārāyaṇa*, who in turn asks the serpent *Ananta* or *Vāsuki* to do the work. Though to save the dignity of the new Brahmanist gods, whose existence at that period is a transparent anachronism, the Brahman bards made "the Asuras hold *Vāsuki* (i.e., *Ananta*) by the head and the gods by the tail, and *Ananta*, who was for *Nārāyaṇa*, at intervals raised his snake's head and suddenly lowered it."† The concluding part of this sentence reads as if the serpent *Ananta* performed the churning independently, without the aid even of the Asuras.

#### AGREEMENT WITH THE BABYLONIAN CREATION-MYTH

The conditions above noted are virtually in absolute agreement with the earliest Babylonian cosmogony of about 3000 B.C., as recorded in the famous tablets. According to this, in the beginning, before the earth appeared, there existed from eternity only the primeval waters, the spirit of which in the form of "the old serpent" or dragon of Chaos was the great solitary Monad, or First Great Cause. Though latterly the Absolute was represented as a dualism,

\* After ineffectual efforts, "the gods appeared before the boon-granting *Brahmā* seated on his seat, and said: 'Sir, we are spent; we have not strength left to churn further. Ambrosia has not yet arisen'" (*Mahābhārata*, i. 1143; cf. also Roy's translation, i. 80).

† *Mahābhārata*, i. 1124-25; cf. Roy's translation, i. 80.

in which the old serpent of the waters. is coeval or co-existent with the Lord-of-Heaven-to-be, *Anu* (or *Anos*, whom I identify with *Our-anos*, the *Uru-w-ana* [i.e., *Varuna*] of Ur of Chaldea and of the Aryan Hittite inscription of 1400 B.C. of Boghaz-kui); and these two are the prototypes of the Iranian *Ahura-Mazda* and *Ahriman*.

The old serpent of the deep or universal mother was called by the Babylonians "*Mummu Tiamath*" (i.e. = Greek *Thalasa*, or "the Sea") and brought forth everything. At first she begat the god of the sky *Anu*, directly or in two or three generations. After *Anu* came *Bel*, "the lord," and *Ea* (or *Aa*, the "god," as opposed to the Serpent of the Deep and also the lord of Deep Wisdom, and his son was *Merodach*, who became the champion of the gods, and latterly the divine creator.

Then in the dissensions which arose between the gods and the serpent brood of dragon spirits, Merodach kills the old serpent and stretches half her body on high to form the sky, with mansions for *Anu* and the other great gods, and thereon Merodach assumed the functions of creator for the rest of the universe. He set the moon on high and arranged its mutations, and he created man "with his own blood." This pantheistic conception of the origin of man is analogous to that taught by Brahmans in their theory that man was fashioned from a part of the body of the creator (*prajāpati*) *Nārāyana-Viṣṇu*.

It is the creation of the universe from the primeval waters by The Old Serpent and by Anu through his grandson Merodach, which clearly forms the story of the Churning of the Ocean of the Hindu myth, and it is, of course, a version of the same which we find in the first chapter of Genesis, derived by the Jews from pre-Semitic Chaldea.\*

\* T. Pinches, *Religion Babylonian*, 1906, 30 f., from which the above account is mostly summarized.

## SUPPLEMENT

## OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

1. AN INDIAN RULER ON ENGLAND. Impressions of British life and character, on the occasion of a European tour, 1913. By Meherban Narayan Babasaheb, Chief of Ichalkaranji (Bombay Presidency). With an Introduction by the Right Hon. Lord George Hamilton, G.C.S.I. (*Macmillan and Co.* 1914.)

The chief of Ichalkaranji is a high-caste Mahratta Brahmin, and has proved himself to be not only a successful ruler of his own State, but a high authority on agricultural and other problems of Indian administration. For the last fourteen years he has been representing the Sirdars of the Deccan in the Bombay Legislative Council. He is no stranger to our readers, having contributed to our number of October, 1913, a notable article on "What has Britain done for India?" and to that of January, 1914, "A Plea for the Mahratta Brahmin." He writes excellent idiomatic English, and records his impressions with vividness and much insight. Whether the topic be the scenery of Ben Cruachan or the waters of Bath, the British party system, or the London clubs, the breeding of cattle, or the question of water supply, he has always some shrewd and sensible observation to make. He strongly objects to our glazed collars and tight boots, as well as to low-cut blouses, hobble-skirts, and slit dresses, and he devotes a whole chapter to the London policeman, for whom, like all visitors to our shores, he has the most unbounded admiration. It is very striking to observe how fully the Chief has grasped the practical working of the most complicated institutions of English life. He appears to understand thoroughly and in detail, and to examine with thoughtful criticism the practice of Parliamentary Government, the Poor Law system, public health services, and the whole scheme of English education; and we have seldom seen any statement so concise and accurate as his account of the differences between the Church of England and the other Christian communities. Very impressive are the views of this Indian ruler on *religious*

*education.* "No nation can hope to prosper without a strong moral code based on sound firm religious principles" (p. 220). He disapproves of the avowed neutrality of the Indian Government, which has led to the absence of the religious element from the system of education; and he urges that as religious education in the various faiths of India cannot be obtained by individual private effort, the Government should "make religious instruction a more or less recognized part of the curriculum of education." In his final chapter, "Britain and India," he expresses a strong desire to give Indians a fuller share in administrative affairs, so as to enable them to become self-reliant, as otherwise, in the event of the strong arm of Britain being unhappily removed, the country would fall into the hands of some other nation or into anarchy, as happened when the Romans withdrew from Britain. This suggestive book should be read by all who are interested in India.

W. W. CANNON.

**A LANDMARK IN HISTORY: THIRTY YEARS' ANGLO-FRENCH REMINISCENCES, 1876-1906.** By Sir Thomas Barclay. (*Constable and Co.*) Price 12s. 6d. net.

The British public is accustomed to having books dealing with Paris reminiscences doled out to them at the rate of about two a year. Some are distinctly witty, such as, for instance, that of Robert Sherard; others instructive, such as that of Laurence Jerrold. We have seen none which is so important, or bears such an unmistakable stamp of authority, as that before us now by the maker of the *Entente Cordiale*. Moreover, it has an especial interest now that his labour of years has borne such unmistakable fruit. This is something more than personal reminiscences. However entertaining, it is a chapter of diplomatic history.

The *Entente Cordiale* was, from its start, an instrument of peace in Europe, designed to clear away all misunderstanding between England and France. The difficulties arising from the rival interests of the two countries in Egypt and elsewhere were settled by the Anglo-French Arbitration Treaty. His chief difficulty appears to have been with a party which, opposed to the reawakening of the old lust for revanche against Germany, endeavoured to draw public attention back to colonial expansion. It was this policy, the more immediate purpose of which was to divert French attention from matters irritating to Germany, which revived trouble with England. The author cites, to take one example, the action of France in Siam in 1893, an incident which, as he explains, was not unlike the Agadir incident. In view of the anti-European effervescence in that quarter, the British Government sent gunboats for the protection of British subjects. This action on the part of England excited the greatest indignation in Paris, and France thereupon, and at once, strengthened her naval forces. In the next chapter, Sir Thomas describes how Lord Dufferin suggested to M. Honotaux that the two Foreign Offices should try to bring about a general settlement of all pending difficulties with the Egyptian Question as the centre point. They were ably assisted by Mr. Phipps and M. Haussmann, who met frequently, and drew up a scheme of settlement which, however, has never

been revealed to the public. These hopes were, however, shattered by what Sir Thomas aptly describes as "the patriotade wave," and the Dreyfus affair, which excited so much feeling in England. This was, of course, followed by the Fashoda incident.

It was as President of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris that Sir Thomas Barclay, by an appeal to the common sense of the two nations, steadily prepared the foundations for better understanding. He explains that the Boer War marked the dawn of a better feeling. He quotes the *Figaro* in which M. Cornély, after extolling the calm and Christian spirit in which the Boers defended their country, wrote :

"On their side the English teach us how a great people bear reverses, how it considers itself responsible to the world to stand by its Government whether in good fortune or misfortune. . . . Sensible men must have sympathy for both Boers and English. . . . The English are an example for us."

It is pleasant to think that it was thus at a dark moment in English history that the turning-point was reached, and France once more began to sympathize with her friend across the Channel. The death of Queen Victoria in the following January struck a sympathetic cord in the generous nature of the French. Sir Thomas Barclay set to work and drew out a scheme which appears on p. 195, and of which we give the following summary :

1. Work first on the Franco-Scottish tradition. Form a Franco-Scottish Society based on the historic relations between France and Scotland. Visits to be exchanged between the Scotch and French. Opportunities to be utilized of drawing the English into the work.

2. Conflicts of interest cannot be solved while bad feeling exists, but might easily be solved if the two peoples were friendly.

3. To produce a better feeling, point out—(a) England best customer of France; (b) a certain esteem in both countries for individual persons of the other; (c) familiarity with and admiration for each other's literature; (d) increasing interest of Frenchmen in English sports.

4. Necessity of proceeding without exciting opposition or jealousy of authorities.

5. Most useful agencies: (a) Chambers of Commerce in England and France; (b) Municipal Councils in France; (c) Trade Unions in England; (d) Leading politicians; (e) Special Committees.

6. Method: Articles in periodicals; interviews in newspapers; public addresses.

This was his scheme, this is what led him to victory. With indefatigable energy he took up his task. Its success was assured from the first, it is now applauded by all. He deserves the unstinted praise of his countrymen, with whose universal compliance he may well write: "Exegi monumentum aere perennius."

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We have before us the second number of a new publication, "The Crucible," described on the cover as "A Social and Literary Review for

Cosmopolitans." The editor is Ramdas Crishna. The verse is of the somewhat advanced erotic type proclaiming the minor poet, but there is a good paper on "Modern Education in India," and a long review on Edward Carpenter's "Love's Coming of Age."

"The Anti-Christ in Egypt" is the title of a book by W. N. Willis, written to show the protection afforded to criminals of various nationalities by the Capitulation Laws. It is full of praise for the work done by Lord Kitchener. We may quote: "Disorder reigned everywhere when Lord Kitchener arrived in Egypt. The wildest prophecies were now sent throughout the land as to Kitchener's real mission. The iron hand was depicted without any 'velvet glove'—a rule of brute force by the man of blood and iron was foretold. . . . Lord Kitchener did nothing but sit tight and firm in his seat of authority. The doors of the Residency were thrown open so that all manner of men might enter and lay bare their grievances. Gradually people began to understand that there was no iron hand, and that the necessity for the velvet glove did not exist."



## CORRESPONDENCE

'A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR'

MR. NOEL BUXTON AND ARMENIA—A REPLY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

DEAR SIR,

I must confess to my great surprise at reading the letter on the above subject, signed Isidor Morse, which appeared in your issue of August 15.

I sent the Review and a copy of "Travel and Politics in Armenia" to an old traveller well versed in the politics of the East—one who has visited and lived in Armenia—and as I found his greater knowledge led him to form the same judgment as to the value of Mr. Morse's criticism as that to which my own slighter knowledge had led me, I have no hesitation in asking you to insert the substance of my friend's communication on the subject. As his views and my own, arrived at independently, happen to coincide, I shall summarize them for the sake of brevity.

He knew Mr. Noel Buxton's book by name only, but studied it carefully after reading Mr. Morse's criticism.

Mr. Morse stigmatizes Mr. Noel Buxton's work as "the product of a rather irrational enthusiast," and denies that it adds to one's knowledge of one of the vital questions of Eastern politics.

I find nothing in Mr. Buxton's work but a clear-headed narration of facts, as seen by an eye-witness, from which are drawn the only conclusions possible to a sane and balanced mind.

Take, for instance, the question of arms. Mr. Buxton, having seen the lawless, half-savage Kurd armed to the teeth while his Armenian victim is utterly defenceless, begs that the latter should be armed for the purpose of self-defence. If the Government is unable to control the wild Kurds and to protect the Armenians from massacre and outrage, can anyone propose a more rational policy than this? And all Mr. Buxton's proposals are on a level with it.

Many of Mr. Morse's comments are too trifling to notice, such as "the illustrations are neither characteristic nor interesting," that the descriptions are tiresome and valueless to anyone "accustomed to the East," and so on. These are matters of individual opinion, and so of only relative value. Personally, I find the reverse to be the case.

The authors have not written the book for those "accustomed to the East." Those who know the East have little need of such works, which, however, are of the most essential value to those who are not acquainted with the East. For such persons narratives giving faithful first-hand pictures, as does Mr. Buxton's book, are simply indispensable. The friend mentioned at the beginning of this letter, who is an expert in Eastern politics and well acquainted with Armenia and its people, wrote to me that he found the book both interesting and accurate.

When one comes to more serious points, the criticisms are most false and misleading, even ridiculous to those who have any knowledge of the Kurds and Armenians.

He admits that the Kurds often steal sheep and commit murder, "but," he adds, "so do the Armenians."

This is a gratuitous and wicked addition which no one who has lived in the country will confirm. The expert referred to above has lived many years in Armenia, and never found the Armenians busy cattle-lifting and murdering. Of course individual cases occur there, as in all parts of the world. Mr. Morse needs only to visit the Turkish courts of justice to convince him of his error. Failing that,

let him read the reports of the British Consuls in that country, published in the Blue Books. This will prove to him the utter injustice of his accusation.

The *naïveté* of the critic is seen in his attempts to refute Mr. Buxton's assertions as to Kurdish lawlessness by saying "it will not be accepted by those of us who have often travelled with perfect safety and comfort under the ægis of the Turkish Government." Mr. Morse forgets that he is a foreigner and a Briton, and that foreigners are comparatively safe in Turkey, especially when escorted by half a dozen gendarmes.

The question is, whether the natives, the Armenians, are safe ; whether they are not often robbed and murdered on the roads, while the robbers and murderers are allowed by the authorities to go scot free, ready for the perpetration of further excesses. Again, if travelling in Turkey is so safe and comfortable, why do foreigners and natives go to the expense of an armed escort ?

The criticisms on the main points at issue seem to emanate from something very like personal animus against the authors and the people whose cause they are pleading. For instance, as to the question of Armenia being handed over to Russia, Mr. Morse asks whether the authors are sure "the Russian Government cares to take charge of some million of petty shopkeepers." If Mr. Morse, as an Englishman, does not blush when he re-reads these criticisms he is past praying for. He practically glorifies robbery and murder as a means of livelihood and vilifies trade and commerce.

The history of the last Turco-Russian War is the reply to that query. Then, Russia, not only *wanted*, but actually annexed, a great part of Armenia, and it was England who drove Russia out of Erzeroum. Furthermore, by the San Stephano Treaty, Russia had taken the whole of Armenia under her protection. And it is owing to British intervention that she was obliged to give it up. Hence England's responsibility for Armenia's present

plight ; hence why Mr. Morse, as an Englishman, should have kept silent rather than put such a question.

Mr. Morse thinks Mr. Buxton's argument as to why the Armenians are looking to Russia for an amelioration of their condition is not convincing. Those readers of Mr. Buxton's volume whom I have met agree with me that his reasoning is sound. His premises are these :

He, as an impartial traveller, has seen Armenia devastated and desolated by the Kurds, for lack of proper protection and administrative reform on the part of the Turks. He proposes to the Turkish authorities, that they should allow the Armenians to arm themselves as a means of defence against their marauding neighbours. He believes the Armenians are capable of protecting themselves, and that the Kurds, perceiving this, will at once change their conduct and keep at a respectful distance, and that the relations between the two peoples will be immensely improved, to their mutual advantage. But, argues Mr. Buxton, if the Turkish Government cannot, or will not, protect the Armenians or disarm the Kurd, or allow the Armenian to arm himself, for the protection of his life, his family, his possessions, then, but two alternatives remain :

(1) To place the Armenian under direct control of the Great Powers. (Note : Mr. Buxton's book appeared before the outbreak of the European War.)

(2) To turn to Russia for the protection, denied alike by the Ottoman Government and the European Powers.

What can be more reasonable, more conclusive? And, moreover, Mr. Buxton gives his reason for arriving at the above convictions. He has visited Russian Armenia and found the Armenians there, comparatively happy and prosperous. Where, then, lies the objection to such a course being taken, when all else has failed?

Among my numerous Armenian friends in England, France, Egypt, the Balkans and Turkey, I have not found one dissentient from the above conclusions. Much as they would prefer to live under a properly administered Ottoman

Government, they have lost all hope of any spontaneous amelioration of their conditions under Turkish rule. And rather than continue to drag out a miserable existence in the *inferno* created by Turkish misrule and Kurdish lawlessness, they would prefer to accept the protection offered by the Russian Government. And who can say that they are not fully justified in so doing?

Yours faithfully,

FELICIA R. SCATCHERD.

14, PARK SQUARE, N.W.

### "INDIA AND THE EMPIRE"\*

• TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

DEAR SIR,

In the preface to this her last little volume, Mrs. Besant speaks bitterly (and apparently with good reason) of the refusal by the *Times* to publish her reply to various criticisms of her letter; but, unfortunately, the practice of boycotting what they do not like is characteristic of newspapers nowadays, and I have precisely the same complaint to make of the *Christian Commonwealth* which was so friendly to her, not only in laying her facts before the public, but in refusing publication of any correction of those facts. Since the *Echo* died of "hearing both sides," there is no daily paper, so far as I know, which makes a point of doing so, and our only hope is in the *Asiatic Review*, which, unfortunately, is not likely to reach the same body of readers.

Not only did the editor of the *Christian Commonwealth* refuse to publish my perfectly civil comments on Mrs. Besant's letter, but he did not, as far as I remember, return my letter or reply to a subsequent letter, in which I asked to be informed what had become of it, or even acknowledge

\* By Annie Besant (I.P.S., 161, New Bond Street. 1914. Price 6d. net).

the receipt of a small volume entitled "Truths about India," which would certainly have enlightened him (and Mrs. Besant) on many matters of which they are apparently ignorant.

It is wearisome to have to repeat the same corrections of such common misleading statements as abound in Mrs. Besant's letter and subsequent lecture on "India's Plea for Justice," but when such a generally well-informed authority (as she certainly is) repeats such statements without any reference to the repeated corrections that have appeared in a book of such undoubted authority as that quoted above, one can hardly be surprised at finding the same policy of ignoring the case on the other side being pursued by less scrupulous critics.

At the risk of wearying your readers, I am compelled to deal with some of Mrs. Besant's most misleading statements *seriatim*, and, unfortunately, it is impossible to be as brief as one would naturally wish to be; but I shall confine myself to the worst examples of her system, which, speaking generally, is to magnify the merits of our Indian fellow-subjects and depreciate those of her own countrymen.

She speaks (on p. 13) of "the splendid achievements of the Mahratta power" without specifying any of them; and no doubt the Mahrattas showed at one time great capacity for 'upsetting the existing Government; but whether their achievements could properly be described as "splendid" is open to doubt; and their proceedings were hardly consistent with that stable and secure "civilization" which, (on the same page,) she says "existed in India when the East India Company turned their attention to that country." Now it so happens that the Mahrattas, as a nation, were practically contemporaneous with the East India Company; and it was not till they had been finally subdued, (in 1818,) that the English can be said to have been in any real sense responsible for the government of India outside the Punjab. Up to that time the mere existence of the Mahrattas as a sovereign power is quite

sufficient to prove that, ("as every schoolboy knows"), there was no "stable and secure civilization" in India at the time the English were first attracted thither. That is merely history.

But Mrs. Besant is perhaps most mischievous in the region of economics. On the very next page (14) she says that "the *unrestrained* export of her foodstuffs *due to the railways* caused *far more numerous and more widely-spread famines*\* than did the occasional destruction of crops by war in a restricted locality." If this extraordinary sentence has any real meaning, it must mean that railways by facilitating the transport of produce have actually caused "famines," and that "famines" in olden times were only caused "by the destruction of crops in war time," and were quite local disasters. It is almost impossible that Mrs. Besant, or any intelligent human being, can really believe any of these statements, but these are her words published to all the world by the editor of the *Christian Commonwealth* without a word of protest. Does Mrs. Besant think it is better that crops should rot on the ground for want of roads or access to a good market, as used to be the case even in my time in the Central Provinces, than to have all the markets of the world brought to their very door? Then, again, would Mrs. Besant try to regulate the export of surplus foodstuffs? and, if so, who is to decide how much of the surplus of each ryot is to be exported? It is no doubt true, (and this is probably what Mrs. Besant really meant by her too rhetorical language), that many of the poorer cultivators in poor countries like India and Russia are driven to export more of their produce than is good for their own stomachs; but would Mrs. Besant prevent them from selling it, and *make* them eat it themselves?

As to famines, I must refer her to Chaps. XI., XVI., XIX., XXIII., XXIV., XXV., and XXXI., of "Truths about India." Did she never hear of the frightful "depopulation" that occurred in the Mahratta country in the

\* The italics are mine.

year A.D. 1400, long before there were any British with their ruinous railways? It is worthy of note in passing that in that same Mahratta country there was “a great decrease of population in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries owing to war and devastation,” and that it is only “under British rule in the nineteenth century” that it has “increased greatly” (“*Encyclopædia Britannica*,” vol. xv., p. 289, ninth edition). But, says Mrs. Besant, “the broad fact remains that India *was* rich, and is poor.” Now, I wonder what this sentence really means? Mrs. Besant vouchsafes no proof of either assertion, and it does not appear exactly either *when* India was rich, or what is meant by “India” in this connexion. Does it mean the King or the people? And if the people, which part of them? The “actual cultivator” in the good old times was, of course, to all intents and purposes a slave, and till long after our time was only a serf, *adscriptus glebæ*. Does Mrs. Besant mean that *he* was “rich”? He certainly formed the bulk of the population of India, as he does still, and he is no doubt poor now, though I doubt if his poverty is harder to bear than the poverty of our “submerged tenth,” especially in winter. Poverty, after all, is a comparative term, and, as my friend “J.P.” observed in the last number of this *Review*, I too would rather live on a penny a day in the Mofussil of India than a shilling a day in most parts of England. It is, perhaps, true that India generally, including the “actual cultivators,” was a more comfortable place to live in during the Middle Ages than was England; but it is by no means so certain as Mrs. Besant seems to think. And it must not be forgotten that, though they may have had more to eat in ordinary times, yet in the numerous and ghastly famines of which we have abundant evidence no attempt was ever made to save life because, for want of railways and other means of communication, no such attempt was possible; so that people died of starvation within a few hundred miles of food to which there was means of access.



On p. 16 Mrs. Besant assures us that India once "believed, but now disbelieves, in England's love of liberty"; but "liberty," again, is a comparative term, and it is clear now, if it was not when Mrs. Besant wrote her letter, that the people of India, so far as they are articulate, much prefer the liberty they enjoy under the rule of Great Britain, to the sort of liberty they might expect from the Kaiser or even our good ally the Czar. Mrs. Besant, indeed, says herself (on p. 19) that India is "enthusiastically loyal to the Crown," which is more than I should have ventured to say, though it really seems now as if it was literally true. She is not ashamed to repeat the calumny as to the alleged breach of faith by the English Government in the matter of the royal proclamation in 1858—"the utter disregard of the promises made in 1858," as she puts it. And yet the case for the Government is as simple as possible, and the meaning of the language equally clear from any reasonable consideration of what those concerned in it said at the time. It must, of course, be admitted at once that natives of India have not yet been admitted "freely and impartially" to every office under the Government of India. They are not admitted to Sandhurst or Woolwich, or even to the English-recruited branch of the Indian Police, (to say nothing of the Navy); their exclusion in such cases being governed, I suppose, by the much-discussed clause, "so far as may be," and also by the idea that they are not qualified for such appointments by "education, ability, or integrity"—or, rather, that such qualifications only are not sufficient to justify their appointment to such offices. It is also not *exactly* true that they are excluded on account of their caste, colour, or religion; it is not "by reason *only* of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, that the native of India is debarred from holding any place, office, or employment" in India; there are many other considerations which have deterred the Government of India so far from employing the nobles and gentry of India in the army, for example. And though personally

I think the decision is entirely wrong, and that the late Lord Minto's scheme for their employment ought to have been fairly considered, and, if possible, tried, I can quite understand the obstacles in the way of its adoption. I take this opportunity of protesting once more against the assumption that we who lay stress on the words "so far as may be" are actuated by a "pettifogging" spirit. We only look at the proclamation from a common-sense point of view, and insist that the proviso was not only carefully considered by those who drafted it, but actually indispensable.

The fact that the Civil Service, at any rate, has been open to every British subject for more than fifty years, and that a sufficient number of Indians come to England every year to fill every vacancy, is always carefully ignored by our critics. There are many reasons why so comparatively few compete, but it wouldn't suit Mrs. Besant's argument to state them. The truth is that considerable progress has been made in the matter of associating Indians and Europeans in the government of the country, and though many of us think it might well have been more rapid, most people who know the country, including, I have no doubt, Mr. Gokhale himself, know quite well that it will be many years before the Government can be carried on without a strong backing of Europeans. What that backing must be is a question for those in authority from time to time.

I have already taken up too much of your space, and must leave "India's Plea for Justice" for another occasion.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

## INDIA AS A PARTNER IN THE EMPIRE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

SIR,

We shall be most grateful to you if you will assist us to bring forward the work of the Imperial Organization Society, which is to bring India into the great federation of

the Empire, and allow her a voice in the great Imperial Parliament, which it is our object to establish. We advocate an Imperial Constitution, which would mean an Imperial Parliament for Imperial affairs, such as defence and foreign policy, and local Parliaments for local legislation. If India was not quite ready for the latter, she would be ready for the former, and her voice would be an untold strength. The movement would be a very popular one, as India has a strong backing in this country, and her loyalty has brought forth admiration on every side. We should like India to organize thoroughly for this movement, and educate her public, both in India and all parts of the world. The day has gone by when India may be left in a subordinate position, and it is time for her to be taken into the Councils of the State. Committees throughout India ought to be formed, and a strong organization set on foot. The executive of this society will be grateful for advice and co-operation to this end.

Yours faithfully,  
W. PHILLPOTTS WILLIAMS,  
*Chairman of Committee.*

## THE INDIAN PRESS AND THE WAR

WITHOUT an exception the entire Indian Press has, as it were with one voice, signalized its unswerving loyalty to the British cause. It is in truth a trumpet blast of death to Germany, and, we may add, to those Teutons in particular who reckoned that England's distress was India's opportunity. The cumbrous machinery of their news-faking factory has failed to do its work.

We herewith give extracts from some of the leading Indian organs. We apologize for the incompleteness of this list ; we applaud the completeness of their loyalty :

### "THE LOYALTY OF INDIA.

"The splendid loyalty of India has by this time been proclaimed throughout the British Empire, and will be everywhere hailed as a demonstration of the sincere attachment of the educated classes to the country which, in the happy phrase of the Maharaja of Burdwan, has done so much towards the rebuilding of Indian prosperity. It is not that the fidelity of India to the British Crown has been in doubt, but that, as Mr. Chakravarti observed in his telling speech, there are occasions when a formal and public avowal of loyalty and devotion is of the highest importance. Not only does it emphasize mutual confidence in India and the British Empire at large, but it serves to inform foreign nations which have indulged in malignant speculations on the attitude of the great countries which form the King's

over-seas dominions that their views are ill-advised and wholly unfounded. Nor is this all. The public opinion of India must count in making up the world's verdict upon this the most tremendous struggle in the history of Europe. India is essentially opposed to war. In no country has aggression been more universally condemned or the armed peace of Europe more severely and justly criticized. When, therefore, we find that Indian public men without reserve declare themselves convinced that England has been forced into the present conflict and that she is waging a just war in a just cause, this deliberate pronouncement is not to be lightly esteemed. All those who are seriously concerned with the moral issues of the war will value this emphatic testimony. It may perhaps be desirable to add that in the demonstrations in Calcutta and Bombay there has been no hint, trace, or suspicion of official inspiration. They have been the spontaneous expression of the feelings and opinions of people who set store by their independence of action, and have voluntarily made known, for the benefit of all whom it may concern, that they are willing to make any sacrifice in their power for the maintenance and defence of the British Empire. With this sentiment, we are convinced, no event, however untoward, will be allowed to interfere."

*The Statesman*, August 20, 1914, leading article.

"Germany is going to be taught a lesson, which she has been in some need of learning for a long time. She has proudly inscribed on a big monument near the Danish (present) frontier, that she fears God and nothing else in the world. She will soon have to climb down and learn by bitter experience that God will not suffer an oppression such as that which Germany has been carrying on during the last fifty years toward those she has conquered. It always brings its own punishment to try to destroy a people's language, religion, and customs, as Prussia has tried to do in Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, and Schleswig. Fortunately, she has not succeeded in her efforts; but she has inflicted

horrible sufferings in many ways on those brave people who have succeeded in keeping these invaluable treasures in spite of the pressure of the iron hand of Prussia.

"Though many of the smaller States, for obvious reasons, may have to keep neutral for the present, all know with whom they sympathize—it is not with Germany! Germany's past history and her recent action towards Belgium has clearly shown—for the matter of that, we knew it before—that no State that is not strong enough to defy Germany can ever be safe if Germany retains her present position. No wonder that at the present time there is an outburst of loyalty from the Indian people as never before. I say no wonder, for on the dark background of Germany's actions, England's respect and regard for the religion, customs, and languages of the Indian people come out in wonderfully sharp relief."

J. B., in the *Madras Weekly Mail*, August 20, 1914.

#### "HELP FROM FRENCH INDIA.

"The Consul-General, Pondicherry, has voted Rs. 10,000 to the French War Relief Fund opened on the initiative of the Minister of the Colonies. The following motion has also been passed: 'That in consideration of the heavy war expenditure the Home Government are called upon to meet, it is the Colony's duty to place all its reserve fund, amounting to something like six lakhs of rupees, at the disposal of the Motherland.' This makes the second instalment from French India towards the war fund.

"The Pondicherry Government has received orders from the Home Department directing them to prohibit merchants from storing away grain and foodstuffs, as well as raising the prices of provisions, and so on."

*Times of India*, August 29, 1914.

#### "RANGOON SIKHS AND THE WAR.

"A meeting of Sikhs was held at the Sikh Temple, Rangoon, on Tuesday to consider the present political

situation. Dr. Randhir Singh, who presided, in his opening address dwelt upon the horrible state of affairs in Europe, and appealed to Sikhs, young and old, to come forward and serve the King-Emperor with all their might, in the shape of money, men, and moral support. He said that the English were 'Sikhs.' They were the chosen people referred to by their ninth Guru Teg Bahadur, and hence they were their brothers. They should shed their blood profusely in keeping the honour of the Union Jack intact."

*Rangoon Gazette, August 24, 1914.*

"We Indians have certain duties to discharge in the presence of this war of unprecedented magnitude. Our first duty, of course, is to assure our rulers of our unswerving loyalty and attachment to the British Throne. But our duty is not exhausted by the mere holding of public meetings and delivery of eloquent speeches. Nothing is easier than to do this. It involves no sacrifice, but, on the contrary, procures self-advertisement free of charge. It is a cheap way of showing one's loyalty while the situation requires heavy sacrifice. No, we have other and greater duties to perform. Of course it goes without saying that we must all contribute to the Relief Fund which has been inaugurated by His Excellency the Viceroy. We know everyone will do so, and we need not therefore dwell upon this point at any length. The Chiefs have offered the entire resources of their States. We have nothing to do with Chiefs, but with men occupying less exalted positions in life. Our great Zemindars, our no less great professional magnates, our merchants and traders, nay, even our students, will eagerly respond to the Viceroy's appeal, and we have not the slightest misgivings on this point."

*Hindoo Patriot, August 24, 1914.*

#### "THE WAR AND BENGAL.

"Yesterday we wrote appealing to our countrymen to enrol themselves as members of the Indian Voluntary Aid

Contingent which is being formed in Calcutta. The credit and honour of our Province is at stake ; and we are confident that it will stand vindicated by the result. The Contingent will not, indeed, be a fighting body, but its mission will be far nobler than that of killing men. It will be exposed to the risk of battle, for its operations will be within the zone of fire ; and it will incur that risk in ministering to the wounded and the dying. It is a noble work of humanity, standing even on a higher plane than ordinary acts of benevolence ; for it is attended with risk to life and demands the exertion of the highest form of courage. The soldier bravely faces the hail of bullets, amid the excitement of battle, but he who is employed in this work of mercy proceeds to his task with a coolness and courage in which the mere physical element of daring is overshadowed by the higher impulse of a self-sacrificing devotion for the benefit of suffering humanity.

*Daily Bengalee, August 22, 1914.*

“The public meeting convened by the Sheriff in accordance with a numerous signed requisition of the citizens of Madras, was held yesterday evening at the Victoria Town Hall. It was very largely attended, all classes of people, Indians and Europeans, officials as well as non-officials, being present to testify to the unity of spirit and purpose which animated the great gathering. Our esteemed and venerable countryman, Dr. Sir S. Subramania Aiyar, presided on the occasion. In fitting and well-chosen words, he delivered a speech which gave expression to the sentiments and feelings of the vast body of educated Indians throughout the country at the present crisis in the fortunes of the British Empire. ‘The war is one,’ he observed ‘which affects the safety of the Empire to which we belong, and is thus one, as it were, touching the person of every man, woman, and child in India.’ It is, therefore, our duty to make such sacrifices as it is in our power to make in order to bring the war to a successful termination, and in order



that its dire consequences may be as little felt as possible by the people in the United Kingdom and in India. There can be no doubt that this is the feeling of every thinking man and woman in India at the present moment and since the outbreak of the war. The mutual tie and the reciprocal bond of sympathy between the people of India and the people and the Throne of Great Britain, are based not merely on sentimental grounds, but on the firmer groundwork of mutual interest. The spontaneous wave of enthusiasm and loyalty on behalf of the established Government which has swept over the country since the war began, and of which the Madras meeting is only a belated manifestation, is sufficient proof that the relation between the Indian people and the great British nation is, as Sir Subramania Aiyar remarked, one of true brotherliness. We are glad that our distinguished countryman took occasion by the hand in giving, as he said, audible expression to what is uppermost in the minds of the most thoughtful and the most devoted of His Majesty's Indian subjects—viz., that 'they will consider nothing a greater privilege than to be allowed to serve their Sovereign as volunteers. They will hold it an honour superior to that of a seat in the Executive Council and even in the Council of the Secretary of State. Their fervent appeal is, 'Trust us,' and that trust we cannot betray, and we shall never betray. It is to be hoped that the spontaneous outburst of loyalty which took place, the very moment the news of war reached India, from one end of the country to the other, will serve at no distant time to that appeal being favourably entertained, and a concession granted, which will raise us in our own estimation, as well as in the eyes of the world at large, while at the same time the concession will prove a source of strength to the Empire which will not be negligible." We hope that these words and sentiments will be given their due weight in the Councils of the Empire. Edmund Burke speaks in one place of the fact that 'the same ways to safety do not present themselves to all men; nor to the

same men in different tempers. There is a courageous wisdom ; there is also a false, reptile prudence, the result, not of caution, but of fear.' It is needless to point out that the former is always to be preferred to the latter in national affairs. The first Resolution, which was moved appropriately by the respected chairman himself, was to the effect 'that the citizens of Madras, in public meeting assembled, desire to give full and free expression to their profound and unswerving loyalty to H.I.M. King-Emperor, and that, in common with all His Majesty's subjects, they hold the prerogative of British citizenships as their dearest possession, and are ready to do all that lies in their power for the preservation of the Empire.' The Resolution, which was ably seconded and supported by several speakers, was unanimously passed. It may be permissible to point out, in this connection, that the true conception of the prerogative of British citizenship which the Resolution says is our dearest possession, involves in it the right and the duty to bear arms in defence of one's country and King. The second Resolution, which was moved by Mrs. Besant with her usual eloquence, was to form a War Relief Fund, which comprises monies to be devoted to the alleviation of suffering caused by the war, in India, as well as in Great Britain. We feel no doubt that the object aimed at in this Resolution will appeal most forcibly to the humanitarian instincts of the Indian people of all grades of society, and the response to it will be such as is commensurate with their means and resources.

*Hindu*, Thursday, August 27, 1914.

D. N. SINGH.

# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

*NOVEMBER 16, 1914*

## THE BETRAYAL OF TURKEY.

The entry of Turkey into this already far-flung conflict shows how a small, self-appointed clique, masquerading as the Committee of Union and Progress, has succeeded in plunging their unfortunate country into a ruinous war. We believe that it was only a section of the Committee that could have really favoured this fatal action. The Committee had set itself the very praiseworthy aim of regenerating Turkey, and no true friend of the Ottomans can deny that the old Hamidian régime had had its day. In the accomplishment of their task they committed three distinct blunders. Firstly, in their attempt to awaken a national spirit they made the mistake of trying to manufacture Turks out of their Greek and Bulgarian subjects, who had previously been quite loyal and had been allowed a large measure of liberty. This led on to the success of the Balkan States in the late war. In the second place, by disavowing strong Moslem faith themselves, both in principle and practice, they failed to retain the moral position of Turkey as the supreme Guardian of the Faith. This undermined Turkey's influence among her co-religionists in India, Persia, and the north coast of Africa. Thirdly, instead of insisting on the programme of peace, retrenchment, and reform, which the disorganized state of the country loudly demanded, they allowed their army, which has always been their main support in the country, to

become so thoroughly Prussianized, that Turkey, in effect, rapidly became a vassal of Germany. So the old landmarks of Anglo-Turkish friendship became obliterated, and our traditional policy of Crimean and Disraelian days became reversed. We venture to think that Turkey's power for mischief has been greatly circumscribed by the proclamations of H. H. The Nizam of Hyderabad, H. H. The Aga Khan, and H. H. The Begum of Bhopal, and by the assurances of good faith on the part of the Arab chiefs in Africa. But there is above all this the great Faith of Islam—a Faith which abhors injustice, and inculcates submission to the higher law, and the protection of the weak.

It is only when the Faith is assailed that a Holy War is lawful, and Turkey is well aware that the Allies have no intention whatever of attacking the religion of the Prophet. As pointed out in the *Asiatic Review* by Mahdali,\* with regard to the late Balkan War, the Asiatic contingents did not even know what they were fighting for, and when told that they had been sent to save Adrianople, replied that that was not their home. So signally had the Young Turks failed in “inspiring national ideals.” But if the Balkan War was unpopular in Turkey, how much more so must that be the case in the present war? The appearance of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* at Constantinople must have caused considerable consternation amongst the Turks themselves, though perhaps not to that particular section of those Young Turks who were in the plot, and have so fundamentally betrayed the interests of Turkey as a nation and Islam as a religion. With the former England has no real quarrel; of the latter she has always striven to be the greatest upholder.

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#### THE PERIL OF THE BALKAN STATES.

The true interests of the Balkan States are well defined. The incongruous alliance of Germans, Hungarians, and Ottomans, while it lasts, aims at nothing less than the ex-

\* October, 1913.

tinction of what were once the Danubian Principalities, and which received the foundations of their liberties at the Congress of—Berlin, of all places. The Germans in their Eastern campaign are fighting, above all things, for domination in the Near East, and their aim is to establish that domination from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. The Balkan States lie in their path. A triumph of the German arms would mean an end to their independence. Their future depends entirely on the success of the Allies. Our victory is their gain, our defeat is their ruin. The time has come for them to put aside their differences and take their part in the fray. Bulgaria especially would do well to bury the past and identify herself with the only ideal which is in keeping with her national ideals : the emancipation of Slavdom. Rumania now has the chance, which may never occur again, of freeing her two million fellow-countrymen who are now under the Hapsburg heel, and are eagerly waiting for the moment to gain their freedom. We hope that Greece will permanently occupy northern Epirus, from which she has so far been excluded by the machinations of the Austrians in Albania. Servia has seen clearly enough that Austria has thought her mere existence as an independent power a menace to the future of the Dual Monarchy, which has lately shown such signs of decay, and the desperate position of which, as much as any other cause, has been responsible for the present world-conflict. For the continuance of Austria as a great Power was only possible as long as the Balkan States quarrelled among themselves, and had a large portion of their rightful possessions under alien rule. The triumph of the Principle of Nationalities in the Balkan War reflected unfavourably on the suppression of nationalities in the Hapsburg dominions. A continuance of chaos in the Balkans was the only chance Austria had of retaining her dominions. Her Near Eastern policy has therefore always been a menace to the peace of Europe. We must see to it that the mischievous influence of Austria is now terminated for

good. This will give a new era of peace and development to the Balkan States.

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#### INDIAN LOYALTY.

The news from the front shows that the Indian troops have more than held their own when faced with the Kaiser's conscripts. And even if all the Indian regulars had been already in the field, there is abundant evidence that the supply of Indian volunteers is practically inexhaustible; or, to use the phraseology of the Czar in estimating his own forces, "so large that its numbers can scarcely be guessed."

Now that the *Emden* and *Konigsberg* have been accounted for, and Tsing-Tao has fallen, German power of mischief in the Indian Ocean and the Far East has ceased. Our merchantmen can sail the Indian seas once more without fear of molestation, and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which the Mikado has so faithfully kept, will insure the peaceful and legitimate trade expansion in Far Eastern waters, without the danger of German interference. The German flag has now been lowered on all the former Pacific possessions of the Kaiser, and every day brings us closer to our great goal, the extermination of German military and commercial methods, which have been, since their inception, the great and deliberate menace to the world's peace, and which have made all efforts for the friendly co-operation of nations of no avail.

## INDIA AND THE WAR

### I. INDIA'S ATTITUDE

By A. YUSUF ALI, I.C.S. (RETIRED)

THE significance of India's splendid response to the call of the Empire has rightly impressed both the British public and British statesmen. The earnest words with which the Viceroy's message on the subject was read out to the House of Commons by the Under Secretary of State produced a thrill among the members for which it is difficult to find a parallel. A similar impression was produced in the House of Lords, when Lord Crewe, as Secretary of State for India, made his announcement of India's attitude on the outbreak of the war.

The Viceroy's message on the subject, briefly summing up the facts of the situation in India, conveys, behind its official phraseology, something of the enthusiasm and fervour which animate the mind of the people of India. The sentiment of solidarity and the desire to help are not confined to any particular class or section of the population. From the highest to the lowest there is a universal desire to rally round the flag, and to show to Britain in the hour of her need that the finest traditions of Indian chivalry and Indian loyalty are still alive.

Let us take a brief glance at the situation as it existed before the declaration of war.

Like every other country in the world, India has its

parties and its feuds. In politics there are many lines of cleavage—religious, racial, and those relating to questions of principles and policy. In social life there are many contending factions, and the clash of ideas is particularly strong at the present day, when older ideas and institutions are melting into the newer and more advanced ideas and institutions of the future. Plague and famine have been at work for many years, and there was a general feeling of pessimism in regard to the attitude of the people towards the Government. Although it is certain that the vast mass of the people were always loyal to the core, there was a strong, if silent, minority, amongst whom, unfortunately, anarchical doctrines obtained some currency. A prolonged State trial in Delhi, which has just ended, showed the many ramifications of the cult of anarchy and bomb-throwing. The numerous questions of political interest which became the bones of contending factions under the new Constitution which Lord Morley's scheme gave to India, were, before the war, being hotly debated in the Press and on the platform. The release of Mr. Tilak had revived speculation as to the attitude which this advanced democratic leader would take in current politics. The questions of Education and University Reform had ranged people of varying opinions in opposite camps. The second Triennial Council Elections last year revived the fury of certain religious antagonisms, and an unfortunate misunderstanding about a Cawnpore mosque even resulted in bloodshed. The best statesmanship of Lord Hardinge's Government had to be called into play to soothe Muhammadan feeling, which had become extremely sore on account of the dismemberment of European Turkey.

But the news of the declaration of War between England and Germany completely lulled all strife. Public opinion felt firmly convinced that England had been driven to war in defence of the very highest principles of international morality. It was felt that the championship by England of the cause of the smaller nationalities, and



especially of Belgium, which has within the last few years forged new bonds of commercial amity with India, was inevitable, having regard to the whole course of British history, in which the worship of liberty, the preservation of nationality, and respect for racial and religious diversities have always been predominant features of British policy. There could be no question that such danger as there was to Great Britain was a danger to the whole Empire, and, whatever jealousies and heart-burnings there might have been previously in regard to the relations of India to other parts of the Empire, these were completely forgotten in face of the common danger that threatened the Empire as a whole. The splendid example of Ireland, where the bitterest animosities were stilled as if by magic, was not without its influence. India felt that she could not be outmatched in questions of loyalty or of helpfulness in a time of common danger.

When the storm broke, there were not wanting some of the initial symptoms of alarm and financial stringency. It must be remembered that India's finance and trade are largely dependent upon the Money Market of London, and a disturbance of this gravity could not but extend to every branch of Indian trade, finance, and industry. But such disturbance as there was was purely momentary. In a few short weeks all signs of alarm or haste or panic had completely disappeared, and under the lead of public opinion the Indian people resolved to face the future with complete confidence in the ability of England to protect her own interests and those of her widely spread Dominions.

The most dramatic symptom of the stirring of public opinion was revealed in the offers of military assistance which poured in on the authorities. All the martial races of ancient renown, and some whose martial vigour has not been recognized, but which have aspirations towards martial fame, unreservedly threw their weight into the scale. The Feudatory States, in accordance with their traditional policy, came forward immediately with splendid offers of assistance

in men, equipments, and money. British India was swept by a wave of loyal patriotism. It was in accordance with Lord Hardinge's wonderful insight into the feelings and aspirations of India that he was able to take the tide at its flood. The enthusiasm to serve under the Union Jack and to co-operate in leading the cause of England and of right to victory, required an outlet which was not to be denied.

The Government of India decided to send an Expeditionary Force of two Divisions immediately to the theatre of war to co-operate with the British, French, and Belgian forces. Of all parts of the British Empire perhaps India is the readiest with her land forces. With a large frontier to defend and numerous tribes of war-like traditions all round her borders, she maintains her troops in the most efficient condition. Besides the well-equipped British troops of the garrison, there are over 160,000 Indian troops, which for discipline, valour, and staunchness in the field, will stand up to any troops in the world. There is besides a body of 22,000 Imperial Service troops maintained by the Feudatory States specifically for Imperial purposes. Britain has no direct control over the internal affairs of the States, but these Imperial Service troops are trained on the best British models, inspected by British officers, and are always at the disposal of the Government and the Empire in every crisis. Within a few weeks of the commencement of hostilities the Viceroy was able to announce that 70,000 men were ready for embarkation, completely found and equipped in all particulars.

No details of the composition of this Indian Expeditionary Force have been published. But the general character of the elements of which it is composed has repeatedly been described, and by none more fully than by the late Commander-in-Chief in India. Facts and legends about Gurkha kukris are now as well-known in France as those about Highland kilts and bagpipes. The well-kempt Sikh beard, and the symbolic Sikh quoit, have also impressed the imagination of those in search of the picturesque. The

Muhammadan troops, Punjabi and other, have no visible symbols of that character, but in dash, bravery, and firmness they will yield to none. The superb Lancers, with their steeds from Rajputana or the Punjab, and the magnificent camel corps of Bikanir, are not likely to be less effective in use than they are in pictorial effect.

This will be the first occasion on which Indian troops will have taken actual part in European warfare under the British flag. It is true that an expedition was brought over to Malta from India in 1878. But it was only 7,000 strong, and although it consisted of all arms—cavalry, infantry, Gurkha scouts, sappers and miners, and artillery, it was mainly utilized as a reserve in Malta for possible contingencies. It had no opportunity of taking part in actual warfare against Russia, as the war ended not long afterwards. But it showed the resources on which England could draw in time of need. It was then anticipated that, given time, there should be no difficulty in raising a million men from India. What was true in those early days of Imperialism is even more true after thirty-six years to-day, when India's population stands at over 315 millions. A *Standard* correspondent from Malta in 1878 was able from personal experience to write: "The Europeans and natives fraternize cordially, and the general behaviour of the troops is unexceptionable." How much truer will be the comradeship now, when Britain and India are so much closer to each other?

It has been stated in some quarters that the value of Indian troops as mercenaries can scarcely be measured in the same terms as that of national troops. This is a complete mistake. Everyone who is acquainted with the circumstances under which the Indian Army is recruited will at once recognize how much it partakes of the character of contingents going to fight in a great cause under leaders with whom the troops are completely and personally identified. The position is similar to that of the various contingents which poured forth in the Great War of the

Mahabahrat, signalized in the splendid epics of India. This war is already called, and really is, the Mahabahrat of this latter day (Kali Yug).

The backbone of the Indian Army is the peasant proprietary class. The men have small holdings of land on which they would be content to live, except for the love of glory and *izzat*, which draws them to enlist under the banner of their King-Emperor. The pay of the Sepoy or Sowar would not be sufficient to attract the men for its purely monetary value. It is accepted as a mere adjunct. The chief motive is the motive which operates in all professional armies—a sturdy love of serving and fighting in defence of their country and in the service of their King-Emperor. A citizen army may have its value, but at any rate our British organization has always aimed at a highly trained professional army, in which heredity, tradition, and instinct combine to give the soldiers a pride in their calling, and a sense of honour and proportion in warfare. Such an army would go anywhere and do anything—untouched by political considerations, and jealous of its honour in the sight of those who know the laws of war. At any rate, the Indian troops are actuated by motives wholly different from those which swayed the Hessians and other German mercenary contingents whom Britain trained for European warfare in the eighteenth century. They are fighting for an Empire of which they are an integral part—for a Padishah who has sat in person on the throne of Delhi, and whose appearance in the Jarukha of the Delhi Fort in the sight of millions of spectators on the banks of the Jamna was one of the most memorable episodes in the Imperial Coronation visit to India.

Nor will the sneer about the second-rate fighting qualities of Indian troops have any better answer than their own history in the past, and in the roll of fame that is opening for them in the immediate future. Lord Kitchener, who is responsible for the organization of our Expeditionary Forces, was himself Commander-in-Chief in India, and no

one will accuse him of being content with second-rate material when he has so much first-rate material at command. Field Marshal Count von Waldersee, who commanded the Allied Forces in China in 1900, knows these Indian troops well, and is now destined to verify, in warfare against his own nation, the fine soldier-like qualities which he praised in another field fourteen years ago. Indeed, in East Africa, the Indian troops have already shown their mettle in fighting against the Germans in the present war. And now come accounts of the dash with which Indian Sowars can ride down the foe and take his trenches; of the daring with which Indian scouts can overpower the enemy's sentries and locate his guns.

The Indian Army is recruited for service within India's borders, but whenever an opportunity occurs for serving the State in other parts of the world there is always the keenest competition to volunteer and to be chosen for service abroad. In China, in Burma (before it became a British province), in Mesopotamia, in Afghanistan, in Somaliland, in East Africa, in Egypt, and all over the world where British interests have to be protected, Indian troops have shown how they can bear their part in the fighting line.

Indeed, the eager desire of Indian troops to fight under the flag wherever that flag has been threatened, has not always been crowned with the opportunity. During the Boer War, the feeling in India for some participation in the war was very strong. Indian resources and Indian ambulance parties were employed, and it has often been said that "India saved Natal." But neither British Indian troops nor Indian Imperial Service troops were allowed to gratify their desire to pour forth their blood on the veldt as a symbol of the unshaken solidarity of the Empire. It may be that if their qualities in honourable warfare had become known to the Boers in South Africa as they were known to their officers in India, the subsequent years of bitter controversies between Indians and South Africans

might have been avoided. Lord Hardinge, with statesman-like delicacy, referred to these controversies in his Council when the finances of the present war were dealt with, and it will stand as an eternal monument to his insight that he has been able to understand and meet the desire of the Indian people to have their troops fighting side by side with their British and Colonial comrades, and to convince this country of the moral necessity of India sharing in the expenses and conduct of this war.

The enthusiasm of the people of India is not confined to the military castes. All the professional classes, even those who usually take up a critical attitude in regard to Government, have shown by their patriotic action in the present crisis, what an asset they are to the stability of the British Indian Empire. The resolution in the Viceroy's Imperial Council voting the expenses of the Indian Expeditionary Force was proposed by an elected Hindu representative of the people, and was carried unanimously amidst scenes of wild enthusiasm. Lawyers and professors in the Presidency towns have offered to be instructed in First Aid and drill in order that they might be useful in this time of war to their country and their Empire. The spirit of the student class both in India and in all centres abroad where there is any considerable body of Indian students, has been equally responsive. The Indians in England have already provided a unit of ambulance corps to be drilled and equipped to go out to the front under the St. John's Ambulance Society. A body of Indian doctors and nursing orderlies are at this moment looking after the first batch of Indian wounded received from the front. Well might Lord Curzon say, as he did at Glasgow: "There has never been anything in history to compare with this demonstration of Indian devotion."

What is the cause of this splendid outburst of feeling, when pessimists were, just before the war, complaining of the estrangement of India from England? Undoubtedly the most potent cause of the welding together of public opinion

has been the personality of the King-Emperor. King George was the first British sovereign to go out to India to announce his Coronation. He is personally known to all the Princes and the principal men of India. His courtesy and tact won him all hearts, and the splendid womanly qualities of the Queen-Empress, who accompanied him to India and joined in all the State functions, could not help driving home to the people the true secret of British strength and predominance, namely, the purity of the English Court and the splendid example of devotion and self-sacrifice within the sacred precincts of English homes.

The King-Emperor gave to India the royal motto of "Hope" and India has responded without reserve with her loyal motto of "Devotion."

## II. INDIA AFTER THE WAR

BY E. AGNES R. HAIGH

The generosity of Indian Princes and peoples in offering their services on the European battlefields and contributing royally towards the prosecution of a European war came as somewhat of a surprise to the British nation. That India, throughout her whole extent, should show herself loyal was never doubted : that she would lend herself with a certain recklessness of enthusiasm and a total disregard of personal advantage to the furtherance of England's interests carried with it implications of a feeling which had not been recognized or even suspected. The results of the co-operation of Indian with British and Colonial troops in the fields bound to have its effect for good within the Empire : it is bound, also, to bring to the fore many grave issues, the settlement of which might otherwise have been retarded. But, before all, we count with confidence upon that closer fellowship, that franker understanding which comradeship in time of stress must bring about, more especially when that

comradeship is founded upon feelings so spontaneous and human as loyalty and gratitude. The occasion is unique, and, speaking for the moment exclusively from the English point of view, carries with it, like all the good gifts of Heaven, the responsibility of worthy acceptance. If India's "splendid response," and "wonderful wave of enthusiasm" have, to such an extent, astonished the country, does this not indicate the duty of discovering wherein the popular estimate was at fault? The trivial view is bound to find expression, even at times of the truest solemnity, so we must not be surprised if, now and again, we hear it said, "Here is a well-earned tribute to the justice of British rule in India": but the trivial view is not bound to find general acceptance. Fair-minded men will instinctively resent an explanation which does little credit to the quality of emotion aroused by the event. The plain fact is that India, by her action, has placed the Imperial Government under a heavy debt of obligation; not in any spirit of deep-seated calculation, but with a courtesy and chivalry which can only be recognized by a response in the like terms. In order to understand the situation and its needs we must ask ourselves two questions: "What are the motives, conscious or unconscious, which promoted India's outburst of generosity?" and "What is the debt of honour to which England is pledged by her acceptance of India's aid?"

The first question might, in its literal sense, be answered easily; but its larger implications demand a much more careful consideration. What, in truth, is India fighting

Clearly not for any reasons connected with the rights or wrongs of the war, however her sympathies may be affected. European disagreements do not touch India, except indirectly, and the creed of militarism, to which the Allies are opposed, would not in itself so gravely scandalize the fighting races of India as to prompt them to take up arms in a Holy Crusade. Add to this that Indians have no grievance of their own against Germany, a country which,



like France and England, has treated them with kindness and regard, and whose scholars, moreover, have shown quite as much appreciation of ancient Indian culture as any others in Europe. Again, admitting that British rule in India aims at being just and equitable, and that British administrators succeed, in proportion to their ability and understanding, in discharging their duties fairly and conscientiously, there is still much in the relation between government and people that needs readjustment. "Unrest" is not the equivalent of disloyalty, and the wisest of British statesmen are not less concerned with the legitimate problems of nationalist claims than are the nationalist representatives themselves. Beyond this there has been, by custom, if not of necessity, so little social intercourse between the British official classes and the Indian people that the suggestion of a strong personal devotion inspiring India's proffer of help—rather, let us say, imperative demand to help—cannot be accepted by anyone who is acquainted with the conditions of life in India. What other motive remains? Policy? Yes—if one may use the word to describe that instinctive sense which governs a man's actions, even where no conscious thought is involved, in the most vital issues of life. Such a "policy" has inspired India at the present crisis, uniting in a common impulse communities and associations, religious, political, and social, of all classes and creeds, individuals of high standing, rulers of native states, extremist leaders, and even the handful of seditionists whose notoriety has usurped an amount of attention so much out of proportion to its importance. India has but one object—that is, to show her loyalty, and to prove what that loyalty is worth. The comment of the Secretary of State for India on Lord Kitchener's announcement gives the truth of the matter in a very few words: "It has been deeply impressed upon us that the wave of wonderful enthusiasm and loyalty which is passing over that country is, to a great extent, based upon the desire of the Indian people that Indian soldiers should

stand side by side with their comrades of the British Army. . . ." A phrase used by Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis in the Viceroy's Legislative Council makes the exact meaning of that loyalty still more clear when he speaks of Indians' "joy at the opportunity which had been given to prove their claim to be regarded as worthy members of the noble fellowship of the Empire." Indian loyalty has indeed been vindicated beyond any manner of doubt. The tone of enthusiasm is not to be mistaken: the figures speak for themselves. Through the Indian Government England is receiving 70,000 men of all arms, fully equipped. Very numerous are the private offers, made by independent chiefs, of personal service, troops, and aid of every kind, and contributions of money by subscription or private donation have made a substantial difference to England's financial position in the war. Most significant of all is the insistent claim of India to bear the whole cost of her own expeditionary force—an offer happily accepted by the British Government, although its acceptance meant the setting aside of a provision of the India Act of 1858. The numbers of the Indian expeditionary force are far in excess of those supplied by any of the Colonies (*relatively* less than those of Australia, only because Government has purposely restricted the size of the Indian Army), and India is the only one of the Overseas Possessions which is making any direct contribution of money. India has, in fact, taxed her utmost resources with a zeal which shows how vital to her is the issue at stake, in the effort to prove her point to demonstration.

Now, why did Indians feel the need of proclaiming their loyalty, of vindicating their status, by arguments so conclusive—the most lavish of material contributions and the voluntary hazarding of life upon a distant battlefield? Because they felt that either loyalty or status was called into question? Let us examine the facts. Queen Victoria, in the Royal Proclamation made after the Mutiny, expressly stated that her Indian subjects were to be held in equal regard with

all other of her subjects throughout the Empire. The same proclamation was repeated by King Edward on his accession, and again, only recently, by King George. Has this principle been literally upheld in practice? Without the slightest wish to disparage existing institutions, or to question the integrity of motive of responsible statesmen, one is compelled to admit that it has not. To take an example. The Government of India, for reasons which it considered no doubt adequate, has chosen to disarm the people. India is the only part of the Overseas Empire in which citizens are not allowed to have any military training or to take measures for their own protection. In Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, the people may practise rifle-shooting, form defence corps, and so on, but in India even the most scrupulously law-abiding citizen comes under the provisions of a stringent Arms Act, unless he is exempted as a European, a title-holder, an official, or by name as an individual exception. The scope of the Indian Arms Act is so wide that it embraces every sort of weapon, including rusty old swords of no more than sentimental or ceremonial value. Indians realize that they may be attacked; the *Emden*, for example, if she had had sufficient support, might have landed marines at some point and effected a raid. But for protection the Indian people is dependent, not on its own efforts, but exclusively on the Government. The reason is given that there has been agitation for reform in India, that seditionists incite to extreme and unlawful measures. But Indians can object that there is agitation for reform in every progressive country. They may retort by asking if there has been no "unrest" in England of late years, if extremists have not used the most lawless and violent of arguments without their fundamental loyalty being thereby called into question. Or, again, when Imperial Conferences take place, as they customarily do every four years in London, India alone is not represented. Vital measures concerning the welfare of the Empire and its defences, questions of

tariffs, naturalization, etc., are discussed, but India has no voice even on matters relating to her own internal affairs. The Press Act, the Cotton Excise, Deportation without Trial—whatever view individuals may take of their wisdom or expediency—are all so many instances of political disability which place India in a position of unquestionable inferiority when compared with other units of the British Empire.

Furthermore, what is the relation existing between India and the sister-dependencies of the British Crown? In Natal, which owes its prosperity mainly to Indian labour, life has been made more and more difficult for all classes of Indian settlers. Australia, New Zealand, Canada, have all placed a definite ban upon Indian immigration. The case of Gurdit Singh and his effort to test the law on this point is of recent memory. He chartered a vessel—the *Komagata Maru*—and set sail for a port in British Columbia: permission to land was refused, and he and his companions, two or three hundred of them, had to return without satisfaction to India. Such are instances of the disabilities under which Indians suffer in point of status. They have no remedy and no redress: there is no Imperial Court to which they can appeal, and the Indian Government, as already mentioned, has no standing at Imperial Conferences. Looking to the autonomy of the various Colonies of the Empire,\* can we be altogether surprised if India feels that her powers are restricted in a manner scarcely in keeping with the intention of the Royal Proclamation?

Such facts as these must be frankly faced if we are to arrive at an understanding of the temper and feelings of the Indian people at the present crisis; and this brings us to the second consideration. What is the moral obligation

\* It is just the autonomy of the self-governing colonies which gives them the control of their own internal affairs. We may cite as an *extreme* instance of this that the question of immigration of alien enemies to Canada and Australia at the present juncture, as Mr. Harcourt pointed out in the House of Commons last session, was even now a matter to be settled by Canada and Australia, and not at Westminster.—ED.

which the British Government has incurred by its acceptance of India's aid? That England owes a debt of gratitude to her Indian subjects is clear, and that this debt must be acknowledged with a like spontaneity of sentiment belongs to the nature of the debt. In other words, this is not a question of bargain or contract, since India's demonstration of loyalty was, neither in manner nor intention, a bid for material gain. Her contribution was a free gift, with no conditions attached, —only the unspoken claim of being permitted to show herself worthy of trust. The true courtesy which prompted England's acceptance of the gift upon India's own generous terms cannot fail to respond to this implied appeal by an admission of its truth. If confidence has not always been felt or shown, it must now proclaim itself; if opportunity has been withheld, from motives however sincere and well-intentioned, it can be withheld no longer. True as it is that neither official England nor Nationalist India wishes to rush upon reform or precipitate inevitable changes, it is also true that the path to progress and development may not be blocked indefinitely. Delays, which an excessive caution might seem to suggest, can scarcely now be urged from the one side without the consent and co-operation of responsible members of the other. It may or may not be that India will soon show herself ready for political self-dominion. Problems must arise in her evolution which forethought and prudence can no more forestall than they can avert. There are many who hold that the ordeal of industrialism must be met and faced before India can become adult; that economic and political measures applicable to England are in advance of India's needs. This may be so, but we cannot assume it. No necessity has forced such an experience upon Canada, for example—to this day a land of crops, or Australia, a land of mines and pastures—both self-governing dominions with full legal powers to manage their own affairs. No individual or community is exempt from the human frailty of making mistakes, and the freedom to do so is a right which the

responsible human being is justified in claiming as a condition of his growth. The best of human institutions have still their full measure of anomalies, all pointing back to some unnoticed blunder in conception, and the British Empire itself is rich in such instructive examples. The instinct of a competent administration to show a certain grandmotherly solicitude, lest its protégés should fall and hurt themselves, may be protective in intention, but is, none the less, cramping in effect. In any case the ideals of India can be worked out in her own experience alone, and none can deny her the right to that experience, or achieve its results vicariously. Certain it is that many problems in India's government and status will present themselves for solution so soon as the present crisis has ceased to occupy our energies and tax our strength; and it cannot be doubted that these problems will find their proper solution when all parties meet on a common ground of goodwill and respect. If India has shown that she can give with devotion and generosity, England has also shown that she can accept with a becoming grace; and no one will forget that in the giving and the accepting a relation has been established which can only be incurred with honour between friends and equals.

## TURKEY AND THE MOSLEMS

HIS HIGHNESS THE AGHA KHAN, G.C.S.I., has sent the following message to Moslems in India and His Majesty's other Dominions :

“ With deep sorrow I find that the Turkish Government has joined hands with Germany, and, acting under German orders, is madly attempting to wage a most unprovoked war against such mighty Sovereigns as the King-Emperor and the Tsar of Russia. This is not the true and free will of the Sultan, but of German officers and other non-Moslems who have forced him to do their bidding.

“ Germany and Austria have been no disinterested friends of Islam, and while one took Bosnia the other has long been plotting to become the Suzerain of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, including Kerbela Nejef and Bagdad. If Germany succeeds—which Heaven forbid!—Turkey will become only a vassal of Germany, and the Kaiser's Resident will be the real ruler of Turkey, and will control the Holy Cities.

“ No Islamic interest was threatened in this war, and our religion was not in peril. Nor was Turkey in peril, for the British and Russian Empires and the French Republic had offered to solemnly guarantee Turkey all her territories in complete independence if she remained at peace. Turkey was the trustee of Islam, and the whole world was content to let her hold our Holy Cities in her keeping. Now that Turkey has so disastrously shown herself a tool in German hands, she has not only ruined

herself, but has lost her position of trustee of Islam, and evil will overtake her.

“Turkey has been persuaded to draw the sword in an unholy cause, from which she could be but ruined, whatever else happened, and she will lose her position as a great nation, for such mighty Sovereigns as the King-Emperor and the Tsar can never be defeated. Thousands of Moslems are fighting for their Sovereigns already, and all men must see that Turkey has not gone to war for the cause of Islam or for defence of her independence. Thus our only duty as Moslems now is to remain loyal, faithful, and obedient to our temporal and secular allegiance.”

His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has issued the following manifesto :

“In view of the present aspect of the war in Europe, let it be generally known that at this critical juncture it is the bounden duty of the Mohammedans of India to adhere firmly to their old and tried loyalty to the British Government, especially when there is no Moslem or non-Moslem Power in the world under which they enjoy such personal and religious liberty as they do in India, and when, moreover, they are assured by the British Government that, as it has in the past always stood the best friend of Islam, so will it continue to be Islam's best friend, and will always protect and cherish its Moslem subjects.

“And reiterate that in the crisis before us the Mohammedan inhabitants of India, especially the subjects of this State, should, if they care for their own welfare and prosperity, remain firm and wholehearted in their loyalty and obedience ; swerve not a hair's-breadth from their devotion to the British Government, whose cause I am convinced is just and right ; keep sacred the tie which binds the subject people to their rulers ; and, lastly, that they should in no case allow themselves to be beguiled by the wiles of anyone into a course of open or secret sedition against the British Government.

“Finally, I give expression to the hope that, as I, follow-



ing the tradition of my ancestors, hold myself ever ready to devote my own person and all the resources of my State and all that I possess to the service of Great Britain ; so will all the Mohammedans of India, especially my own beloved subjects, hold themselves wholeheartedly ready in the same way."

The Begum of Bhopal, one of the few Moslem ladies who has made the Haj, or pilgrimage, to the holy cities of Arabia, addressed a large gathering of her Sirdars, officers, and people, on the subject of the present crisis in the Mohammedan world. Her Highness attributed Turkey's action to the fact that Germany has by stratagem lured Ottoman statesmen from the straight path.

The Prince of Arcot, presiding over the Madras Presidency Moslem League, said that their loyalty was too deep-rooted even to be shaken by political tornadoes. The Prince appealed to all leading Mussulmans of the various districts so to educate the masses as to prove that their loyalty stands above all suspicion.

His Highness the Khan of Kalat has intimated to the Viceroy that he has heard with utter disapproval of Turkey's action, and has telegraphed renewed assurances of loyalty and offer of services.

## KIAO-CHOU

BY C. M. SALWEY

IT must have been a foregone conclusion that when the long-expected disruption of the peace of Europe culminated in the call to arms of many nations, the Japanese would consider the crisis a favourable opportunity to dislodge the Teutonic power from the Eastern Sea.

The presence of a German colony in the Far East, though tolerated with tact and delicacy at the time, has always been a secret source of anxiety, since it was bound to prove a menace to the tranquillity which had been striven and fought for by some of Japan's bravest armies.

The occupation of Kiao-chou by a Power whose aggressive intentions were of colossal magnitude had become a matter of serious concern to our allies.

The story of the "leasing" of this peninsula for the term of ninety-nine years has been fully discussed of late. It culminated in November, 1897, after the murder of two German missionaries, Nies and Henle, who suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Chinese in some obscure district of Shantung. This event was the excuse given, although the offence could have been otherwise dealt with in a less arbitrary manner, equally effective in securing immunity against further attack. Prompt action was, however, undertaken by the German Government, who had long desired the possession of a colony in the centre of Eastern activity.

The German Pacific squadron anchored in the bay ; the Chinese General was given orders to vacate his position within a few hours ; and the whole matter was speedily settled. In the following March the German flag was hoisted and the work of colonization began.

The bay of Kiao-chou is admirably suited for strategic purposes and a naval base. Its waters are protected and deep ; for this reason it can accommodate ships of almost any size. It is in itself a natural harbour, the entrance to which is approached from Whang-hai, on the Yellow Sea, by an opening about two miles wide. The bay faces the lower, or southern, portion of Korea, from which it is distant several hundred miles. It is also on a direct line south-east with Peking. The waters of the bay cover about one hundred and fifty square miles. The boundary of this colony extends from the furthestmost point of the peninsula (taking in the shores) right up north as far as the Paishaho River ; to the east it extends to the summit of the Lanshan Mountains. Within this area, scattered here and there, some close together, some far apart, are nearly three hundred villages, the homes of the industrial natives, who make their living chiefly by farming, raising scanty crops of vegetables and cereals, or by pursuing useful trades of a light nature—water-carriers, and porters, and so forth. This peninsula is very mountainous. Three distinct lines of elevation add their beauty of outline as well as their protective presence to the province of Shantung, which lies at the back and in the north of this important stronghold, whose rightful occupation is now under dispute. Years ago these last range of mountains received German names, and are respectively known as "The Bismarck," "The Moltke," and "The Prince Henry," the most formidable of all being the Lanshan range, which creates an impregnable barrier between the "leased" land and China.

When Kiao-chou fell into the hands of the Germans it appeared a barren, unprofitable spot that had received but scanty attention from its natural owners, who themselves

hardly realized the wealth that lay beneath the soil, or the possibility of useful food supplies that could be gained by cultivation. Besides its minerals there exists a fine supply of coal, which at this present stage of naval requirements is indispensable.

Since 1898 great improvements have been undertaken ; Kiao-chou has literally been transformed. A railway extends over two hundred and seventy miles, running from Tsing-Tao to Poshan. This railway has facilitated trade with Northern China, and proved of the greatest service to the authorities. Around the bay, hills to the height of between four hundred to six hundred feet afford a splendid natural rampart, and provide the essentials and facilities for fortifications. These have not been neglected, as recent events have only too thoroughly proved. The forts are garrisoned with 5,000 German and Chinese marines, and offer grim resistance and constant menace to the allied forces, eager to win back for China what was insidiously wrested from her without sufficient ground. The hills that encircle the bay were devoid of forestry, and the region presented an aspect of barrenness. Young trees of many kinds have been imported from Japan, and are slowly becoming acclimatized, which will add considerably to the charm of the general contour of the land. The work of planting and digging out the stony soil was assigned to the Chinese coolies, who were soon made to understand that the new-comers required this laborious task to be carried out conscientiously. Their hardships were great, and the knowledge that the task was not for their own benefit did not serve to increase their eagerness.

Kiao-chou and the appropriated environs have greatly risen in importance and in value. The small fishing-village of Tsing-Tao soon grew in magnitude. It possessed all the natural advantages necessary to becoming a town, and eventually a city. Fine buildings have been erected everywhere. The Imperial Post Office, the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank, Prinz Heinrich Hotel, the Government Chapel, the

Imperial Maritime Custom House, have been already erected, and contribute their share to the general adornment, as well as proclaiming this German colony to be in a prosperous condition.

We need not carry our minds back many years to remember how those who passed their lives on this disputed parcel of land were more than content to pick their way along stony tracts and unfashioned paths, and wander from village to village, hawking their goods and exchanging their wares with each other, little dreaming of all that was about to happen. The Chinaman, from the highest to the lowliest born, was faithful to old customs, manners, and methods of living, and desired little else than to be left alone, convinced that all that went on in the Celestial Empire was the only and right way, and was sanctioned and established by a Higher Power. The fishermen pursued their trade unmolested in frail boats, gathering in the harvest of the sea from day to day, in utter ignorance of the huge vessels that would some day plough their waters and send forth their deafening thunder, culminating in deadly destruction.

The unique style of architecture, noticeable everywhere, is of a decidedly Oriental type. Some of the new buildings are three and four stories high. They are of considerable size, and present an imposing appearance. The windows are protected by being set well back, with deep verandas finely arched to admit light, and at the same time forming a façade in front of both upper and lower story. Despite the amount of money and care that has been expended, there is an air of rigour and restraint apparent everywhere. The lack of forestry and herbage may in some way account for the stiffness, which is very marked.

Schools have been organized for the Chinese as well as Europeans. Drainage has received attention, and a good water-supply has been procured, which was greatly needed. Electric lighting has added to the comforts of all, and illuminates the main thoroughfares of this newly organized town.

Trade has increased at a rapid rate, and owing to the enterprise of the Shantung Railway Company, the length of railway has reached 300 miles. The fine station at Tsing-Tao is a handsome addition to the many other buildings. The impetus given to trade is largely due to the system of land taxation, which brings in a considerable revenue to the Government. It hinders all speculation in land, as well as preventing the profitable tenure of land when left uncultivated.

It was on Monday, August 24, 1914, that it became known that Japan declared war on Germany, on account of her occupation of this Far Eastern colony. The stern ultimatum of seven days' limit had expired on the previous day. On November 7 the German flag was lowered at Tsing-Tao. The expulsion of the Germans, and the elimination of their trading methods, will bring peace and prosperity once more to Far Eastern waters.

## TURKEY AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS\*

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

Now that most of the European States are at war with each other, Turkey's attitude is of the greatest interest, and the question is continually asked: What position will Turkey take up in the present crisis?

As far as one can judge, the Turkish people are in favour of strict neutrality. This, however, does not coincide with the views of their German inspirers and instructors, who are, naturally, of an opposite opinion. In the Cabinet only the War Minister, Enver Pasha, desires war, and that in order to avenge the loss of Rumelia and Salonika, and to reacquire the ill-fated islands. The Grand Vizier, the Minister of the Interior (Talaat Bey), and the Minister of Finance (Djavid Bey), must surely be advocates of peace and neutrality. And should Turkey be dragged into the war, it would be mainly due to infection with the Prussian virus, which the whole world is engaged in stamping out.

There is little doubt that German influence is paramount in Constantinople, and that the Turks are more friendly with the Germans than with any other Europeans. But this friendship is not without an *arrière-pensée*.

\* Owing to pressure on our space, this article, written in September, was held over from the October number. It is now inserted in its original form, though events have considerably developed since the time of writing.—ED.

Turkey knows that Germany is the only Power professing friendship with her. That fact is sufficient to inspire suspicions of German sincerity, and the conclusion arrived at is that this friendship is due to selfish motives. Turkey has not forgotten that when Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, Germany did not lift a finger on her behalf. Neither did she protest against Italy when that Power sent an expedition to Tripoli.

Turkey perceives that German activity has been mainly directed towards securing great concessions on profitable terms, without as yet much benefit to herself. Therefore, if Turkey is infected by the war fever, it will be with a heavy heart that she will find herself following her German leaders.

England has, even now, hosts of true friends among enlightened Turks, who still remember the Crimean War; but if Turkey be forced to side with the enemies of England, it will be due to the improved relations between England and Russia. The Porte regards Russia as her inveterate enemy, and cannot side with a friend of Russia, whoever it may be. Djavid Bey, in particular, should be dead against a war that would result in strained relations with France. I was in Paris last autumn when Turkey was trying to raise a loan, and I know something of the obstacles that had to be encountered. Djavid Bey alone can gauge the difficulty with which he procured from the French bankers a little money wherewith to carry on the administrative machinery of his country. Were Turkey to join the Triple Alliance, she would forfeit the promise of France for the second half of the loan which Djavid Bey then secured, and which, in the highest interests of Turkey, ought never to have been granted without full guarantees for the carrying out of the long promised reforms.

The rank and file of those in the pay of the Government would side with Djavid Bey against such a war, since it was only through the loan that they began to receive the



arrears of their past salaries. And they realize full well that were Turkey plunged into a fresh war, there would be no more payment forthcoming. Here, it must be added, in justice to the Turkish soldier, that he is not a mercenary. For years he has received but a portion of his due, yet for Allah and his country he would sacrifice with joy even the pittance he now receives.

## II

With regard to the present crisis, it would appear that Turkey's wisest course, nationally and economically, lies in the preservation of strict neutrality. But should she find herself forced to participate in the conflict now raging, despite all leanings towards Germany, her real interests would range her on the side of the Triple Entente.

England is, after all, her truest and best friend, because she is the only disinterested one among the Powers. England is the only country whose interest it is to keep the *status quo* as to the distribution of territory. No wise English statesman would wish to add an inch to British territory. England has already so great a burden of administration, that all her care and attention are necessary to discharge her heavy responsibilities. Turkey can therefore rest assured that England is not coveting a foot of Turkish possessions. Her sole anxiety is to prevent others acquiring any portion of the Ottoman Empire, as, in that case, she might be forced to take her share in order to maintain her own position in the East. England really needs a reformed, prosperous and strong Turkey—a Turkey with true national and Islamic aspirations, a unified country, not a purely self-seeking, irreligious, self-glorified cabal.

With Germany the case is different. Her anxiety to acquire colonies (in the Prussian conception of the word) is well-known. This should put Turkey on her guard, to prevent the entry of Germans into her dominions.

That Germany already regards Asia Minor as her colony is an open secret in Europe. The Bagdad Railway puts the country at the disposal of Germany, and in a few years the German colonists settling along the line will thrive to the exclusion of all others.

War fever ever ebbs and flows at Constantinople. Should Turkey enter the lists, it will mean a renewal of the Balkan Alliance and the Balkan War. Past experience should teach Turkey that after every Eastern war the account is always settled at her own expense. Surely the results will not be less disastrous, should Turkey again open up the Eastern Question, despite the repeated warnings of Russia, France, and England. It would be, indeed, a policy of sheer suicide for Turkey to break her neutrality and take part in the present contest.

### III

The friends of Turkey cannot, therefore, do better service at this juncture than to impress upon the minds of those in power at Constantinople the necessity of preserving that neutrality.

And Indian Moslems, instead of petitioning the British Government, as the greatest Moslem Power, to protect Turkey, ought, above all, to urge upon the Turkish Government that the best and surest line of policy is the preservation of neutrality, and if that prove impossible, to lean towards friendship with the Triple Entente rather than with the Triple Alliance. While thus backing up the British Government, the India Moslems should counsel Turkey—

To consecrate her time, energy, and resources to internal prosperity and economic development.

To strengthen *true*\* Moslem religious sentiment, which

\* *The Family of Imran* :—

78. *Say*: We believe in God, and in what hath been sent down to us, and what hath been sent down to Abraham and Ismael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and in what was given to Moses and Jesus and the

is not against progress and enlightenment, as so many imagine, nor does it regard non-Moslems as, of necessity, infidels, and justify their treatment as such. Indeed, it expressly enjoins the opposite.

To extend absolute liberty and equality to the non-Moslem sections of the Empire, and so render them true co-partners in working out national salvation.

How nobly and efficiently the non-Moslems would respond to such action on the part of Turkey is proved by the success of the Christian deputies in the present Parliament.

Take, for example, *Huladjian Effendi*, who is working heart and soul for the benefit of the Ottoman Empire, with such impartiality that the Armenians are more than inclined to regard him with suspicion, especially as he is one of the few active and enlightened leaders of the *Committee of Union and Progress*. I have heard how this man has worked night and day, three months on end, going through the big volume of the Turkish Budget, and the papers, plans, and projects of administration, so as to facilitate the work of presenting them to Parliament; and Moslems and Christians alike admit that he is a tower of strength in the Chamber.

prophets from their Lord. We make no difference between them. And to Him are we resigned.

2. In truth hath He sent down to thee "the Book" which confirmeth those which precede it. For He had sent down the Law, and the Evangel aforetime, as man's Guidance; and now hath He sent down the "Illumination" (*i.e.*, the Koran).

*Women.* 161. Verily we have revealed to thee as we revealed to Noah and the prophets after him, and as we revealed to Abraham and Ismael and Isaac and Jacob, and the tribes and Jesus and Job and Jonah, and Aaron and Solomon, and to David gave We Psalms.

*Thunder* (xiii. 8): Thou art a warner only, and every people has its prophet.

*Cow.* 285. The apostle believeth in that which has been sent down from his Lord, as do the faithful also, each one believeth in God and His angels and His books and His Apostles. [*We make no distinction between any of His Apostles.* And they say, "We have heard and we obey. Thy mercy, Lord! for unto Thee must we return."]

*Zohrab Effendi* is another Armenian deputy, even more influential. An able lawyer, he possesses remarkable faculty for grasping vital issues, and his knowledge and experience of European and Turkish affairs are of the utmost service when difficult questions arise. After one of his great speeches little remains to be said, so thorough and exhaustive has been his treatment.

Then there is one of the most recently elected deputies of the Ottoman Chamber, Professor G. Thoumaïan, member for Cæsarea, "London's Turkish M.P." During the few months spent in Constantinople he has endeared himself to the Turks, and is doing a work of the utmost value by his advocacy of improved educational facilities.

When the vote of the Ministry of Public Education was being discussed last July—

"Turks and Arabs pointed out the unfortunate fact that while millions were being expended on unproductive services, a beggarly sum of half a million was allotted to the educational department of a large Empire with twenty-five million inhabitants."

The reply of Shukri Bey, the Minister of Education, was to the effect that it could not be helped, since there was no more money at their disposal.

"A striking effect was produced by the speech of Professor Thoumaïan in the debate. He spoke straight to the Moslem population to follow the example set by their Christian compatriots in matters of educational and cultural initiative. Under the old régime, he said, while Abdul Hamid was persecuting the Armenians and their homes were being wrecked, the Christians did not wait to ponder over the consequences, they gathered up their energies and started fresh schools and fresh colleges. He urged, therefore, his Turkish colleagues not to rely solely on the Government . . . they should take the initiative themselves in the educational work of their country."

To its credit, be it said, the Constantinople press, notably the *Tanin* and *Taspiri Efikian*, drew the attention of its

readers to Professor Thoumaïan's speech, and urged them to follow the example set by the Christians. A fuller account of this and other matters of interest to students of the Eastern Question will be found in the admirable little periodical *Ararat*, from the pages of which the above quotations are taken.

The ability of the Greek Ottoman deputies is too fully recognized to need mention ; but, owing to the strained relations between Greece and Turkey, they have kept themselves more or less in the background. But the assistance of such men as Kharalambides and Ourfanides of Constantinople, and Emmanelides of Aidin, will prove of immense value in helping the various races of Turkey to work together for the common good.

Now one word as to the abrogation of the capitulations.

It is known, but not realized, that ever since the declaration of the constitution, Turkey has been governed by military, not civil law. The most innocent criticism of the established order, even by Turkish subjects, is treated as a serious offence, and may even be visited with the extreme penalty.\*

It must be recognized that the Eastern Question is neither Turkish, nor Greek, nor Armenian --it is essentially a European question, in which all the European States

\* "The assassination of Mahmoud Shefket Pasha by a few persons, blinded through hatred and ambition, has furnished the Committee of Union and Progress with a pretext for sweeping away all its opponents. And to-day I am informed 5,000 persons find themselves buried alive in the fortress of Sinope without previous judgment or inquiry. These 5,000 exiles, if we reckon that each has a family of five to support, will represent a total of 25,000 women, children, and aged persons left behind destitute and starving in a country in which organized charity is unknown." —F. R., in a letter to the *Daily Chronicle*, November 21, 1913.

Shortly after the appearance of this letter it was stated that the Turkish authorities had liberated the men unjustly banished to Sinope. I made inquiries in Paris and elsewhere, and was informed that this was not true. The few persons set at liberty were men of little or no political importance. —F. R. SCATCHERD.

are concerned, in which they all have immense interests, and which ought never to have been neglected—that the prolongation of the present conditions is as a gangrene in the body of Europe which, sooner or later, must culminate in disaster. In the interests of the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire and of all Europe, once for all, a solution must be found which will prove satisfactory all round.

But as long as the “Black Hand” of Turkey (represented by a section only of the Committee of Union and Progress) is at the helm of State, it would be a crime to permit the abrogation of the capitulations, which are at present the sole guarantees for the lives and liberties of the European residents in Turkey.

It would be equally a crime against the honour and dignity of Turkey, as a civilized Power, to insist upon the continuation of the capitulations, once this misguided minority has seen the error of its ways, or been thrown overboard.

Mr. Asquith, speaking at the Guildhall on November 9 on the position of Turkey, said :

“It is not the Turkish people, it is the Ottoman Government which has drawn the sword, and which I do not hesitate to predict will perish by the sword. It is they, and not we, who have rung the death-knell of the Ottoman Dominion not only in Europe but in Asia. . . . The Turkish Empire has committed suicide, and has dug with its own hand its grave.”

## RUSSIA'S MISSION

BY H. M. HOWSIN

RUSSIA, more than the other European nations, still bears the marks of her origin. The transforming hand of Time and Circumstance has not yet availed to shroud her identity. We can trace clearly the parent streams mingling their characteristics and shaping the great nation which has not yet emerged from its precocious childhood. Slavonic tribes wandering over plain and forest, pastoral rather than nomadic, settled wherever the grass was good and the water-supply sufficient, and formed their families into well-defined village units with common laws and customs. The groups inhabiting the western regions separated themselves from those of Central Russia, laying the foundation for Poles, Lithuanians, and other groups within the great Slavonic whole. The Tartars, restless, nomadic, independent warriors; raiding, conquering, ever moving onwards, picking up the customs and manners from the people they harried, brought to the Slavonic stock, amongst other traits, that great facility for the acquirement of foreign languages, and that adaptability to circumstances which is the heritage of Russians to-day. Perhaps, too, their love of wild nature, their impatience of restraint and social obligations, their longing for wide spaces and unbounded horizons, had some influence in developing the separate village as the unit of communal life, in contradistinction to the Teutonic

and Norman genius, which gathered itself together within walled towns and cities. Southwards, the Cossacks—half Slav, half Turk—fled into the wilderness of the Steppes, freed alike from Tartar raiding, and from the centralizing authority of a growing civilization in Lithuania and Moscow. Clinging to the Christian faith, rejecting Christian authority, breeding small, wiry horses as fiery, as hardy as themselves, they established themselves a tribe of warrior-huntmen—the Arabs of the Steppes.

The southern region of the Caucasus, between the Black and Caspian Seas, was already inhabited by another race of Circassian descent, with strong Persian influence—the Georgians; already highly civilized while the rest of Russia was deep in barbarism.

To the extreme north-west were the Finns, having no kinship with the Russians, but coming as they did from the East by way of Persia. They were, therefore, nearer to the Letts, who had Indo-European blood, and to the far-off Georgian nation.

The Russians derive their name, not from their Slav or Tartar ancestors, but from a tribe of Norse invaders, whom the rival Slav communities of Novgorod called in to restore order when they found it impossible, with their lack of cohesion, to live amicably side by side. These Russ Varavigians quelled the disturbances, but without undue aggression, and under their authority the Slavs grew and prospered.

In 988 the Emperor Vladimir, who hitherto had been zealous in the worship of the old Slav deity Peroun—God of the Lightning—set himself to seek out a new national religion which would be more advantageous to the State. He seems to have been actuated by purely disinterested and open-minded motives. He sent out a “Royal Commission” to Rome, to Constantinople, to the Moslem Volga Bulgarians, and to the Jews, to inquire into the tenets of these several religions, and make a full report to him. On their return they laid the results of their



labours before him, and Vladimir compared the qualifications of the contesting creeds. The rite of circumcision and abstinence from wine penalized Judaism and Islam : the growing autocracy of the Papal claim placed the Roman Church at a disadvantage ; but the gorgeous ceremonial of the Eastern branch made a special appeal to the Russian temperament : his grandmother had been a Greek convert, and Vladimir finally decided on the Greek Catholic as the most suitable for the new National Church of Russia. He married a Greek Royal Princess, and was himself received into the Church by the Archbishop of Kherson. Christianity was proclaimed the State religion, and the sacred statue of Peroun was unceremoniously pitched into the Dnieper. This choice of the Greek rather than the Roman Church has had far-reaching results in further preserving the natural temperamental isolation of the Russian nation from the Roman politico-social development of Latin and Teutonic Europe—an isolation which even to-day marks Russia with the stamp of mystery, and makes for so many “the undiscovered country.”

To this period, when the old Pagan still mingled with the new Christian faith, belongs the Song of Igor, which merits special attention as one of the most beautiful and characteristic of the old Slav folk songs. The extracts given below are taken from the translation in “The Rise of the Russian Empire,” by Victor Munro. The subject is a campaign of Igor and his brother Svaioslavitch against the Polóvtzi.

#### THE SONG OF IGOR, PRINCE OF SIEVERSKI

Then spoke Igor to his Army :

“Brothers and soldiers, it is better to fall in battle than to yield one's life ; so we will mount our mettlesome horses and gain the Blue Don by daylight.” Yearning filled the soul of the Prince, and the wish to see the noble Don led him to forget many evil tokens. . . . O Boyan, thou nightingale of the olden days, if thou hadst inspired these

warrior bands, alighting on the Tree of Thought and hovering in the spirit of the clouds, thou hadst, O nightingale, united this severed time (that which is past with that which is) . . . . Not a storm-wind drove the falcons over the wide plain, nor hurried the flocks of daws to the glorious Don. Or thou mightest, sage Boyan, thus have sung : The steeds are neighing this side of the Sula, the war-song resounds in Kiev, the trumpets are crashing in Novgorod. The standards wave in Poutil, where awaits Igor his loved brother Vsevolod, and to him saith the bold, war-lusting Vsevolod :

O Igor, my only brother, my bright sun, truly we twain are the seed of Sviatoslav. Brother, let thy spirited war-horses be saddled ; already are mine saddled and waiting at Kursk, and my Kurskies are warriors, born midst the blare of the trumpets and nurtured at the point of the lance. The roads are familiar to them ; they know the passes, their bows are strong, the quiver is open, the sabres are burnished, and they themselves press forward, like grey wolves on the bleak wold, in pursuit of honour and princely renown.

Then set Prince Igor his foot in the golden stirrup, and rode forth into the wide plain. . . .

O Russian band, already art thou this side the hill.

Long lasts the night, the twilight dawn not yet foretells the coming of the Sun, darkness clothes the fields, the flute of the nightingale is hushed, while the croaking of the daws resounds ; but the Russians have bedecked the stretching plain with their purple shields, and strive after honour and the glory of princes.

Early have our warriors defeated the war-horses of Polovtsi, as they thenafter scattered with arrow swiftness in the plain, bearing away the lovely Polovtsi maidens, and with them also gold and precious silken stuffs ; with costly rings, with cloaks and vestments the Polovtsi strewed the streams, marshes, and swamps.

O Russian band, still art thou this side the hill.

There flew the wind (Stribog's grandchild), bolts from the sea against Igor's brave fighters; the earth shuddered, mournfully flowed the rivers, dew-drops spangled the fields, the banners rustled.

(The Polovtsi return, and surround the Russians, defeating them.)

So for a day they fought, and for two days, but on the third, towards midday, sank the banner of Igor.

There on the banks of the rapid Kayala the brothers were sundered. . . .

But Igor's brave war-men shall never wake again. . . .

Loudly weep the Russian women. Alas! that never more can our thoughts to our dear husbands be wafted, that our eyes shall never, never again behold them, and gold and silver never more be stored. And therefore, brothers, Kiev groaneth aloud in sorrow and Tchernigov in grief; woe streameth through the land, and pain, in full flood, through Russia.

(Then Igor unexpectedly returns. . . .)

The sun shines in heaven since Prince Igor is on Russian land. The maidens sing on the Danube, and their voices reach over the sea to Kiev. Prince Igor rides through the Boritcheoford to the Holy Mother of God of Pirogosha. The country is gladsome and the towns rejoice.

Perhaps one of the most romantic, as well as the most precious, things enshrined within the Russian Empire—notably in Georgia and the Balkan Slavs—is the cult of friendship. This ideal inspired one of the world's most noble epics, "The Man in the Panther's Skin," the national poem of Georgia, written by the great poet Rustaveli in the twelfth century, and still representative of the spirit of the people. The bond of friendship may be entered into between persons of like or opposite sex; if the latter, it excludes all possibility of marriage between the two friends. The tie is considered indissoluble, and its peculiar sacredness greater than that of the parental or marital bond,

since both these are constrained by necessity, while that of friendship is an act of purely mental choice—it is the bond of the soul. This ideal of friendship seems to be the special prerogative of small nationalities, by whom it is regarded as their strongest means of preserving and strengthening their national life.

The communal system, with the village as the unit, is even to-day the natural expression of the social life of the Russian people, and implies a simplicity, kindliness, and unworldly detachment of outlook entirely foreign to the individualistic materialism of the West.

“A large part of the peasant land is village property, used by all the villagers in common; the rest is divided, and from time to time redistributed, according to the ideas of equity of the whole village. An estimate is made of each family's claims, either at the death of its head, or at the time of a general census, and the family is allotted a certain proportion of the village ploughed land. But no person is ever allowed to claim a right to a particular piece of soil; he has merely the right to a certain quantity. There is no such thing as title and private ownership of the land itself, since it is not a product of individual labour, but a ‘gift of God.’ . . . The democracy is therefore profound, and rests on the feeling of full social and economic equality, which is the only sure foundation for democracy in any land” (“Russia's Message,” by W. E. Walling).

The affairs of the village are conducted by the Assembly under the village head, who is regarded as the servant rather than the lord of all.

The constant and increased pressure of European economics and principles, the demand for landless labour in the towns, and the speeding up of agricultural methods in the country, will doubtless destroy all survivals of the old communal life, which is so fundamental an expression of one aspect of the Russian genius.

Whatever the gifts Western Europe holds out to Russia, we are convinced that it is Russia herself who, with a new gospel

of "great joy," will re-awaken the vision of a "new heaven and earth" in the way-worn hearts of the older nations.

Throughout the whole Russian Empire the soul of the Slavonic peoples is flashing out with new inspirations, new valuations, new ideals; chaotic yet creative—the vision of a child with the powers of a God: upheaving, now here now there, all laws, customs, securities—political, social, and moral—in its efforts towards self-realization. Russia, in her contributions to the world's achievements in science—Pirogof (medicine), Mendelieff (chemistry), Mechnikov (biology), Pavlov (physiology), Vinogradsky (bacteriology); in literature—Tolstoy, Turgenieff, Pushin, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Dostoyevski; in art—Verestchagin, Glinka, Repin; in music—Rubinstein, Rachmaninoff, Tchaikovsky—to mention a few giants in each, has already proved herself a giver of great men, of great thinkers, of great workers, and we need not question as to how far Polish or Jewish elements prevail—they are Russian. Yet, the genius of Russia—and this acts as a corrective to the astigmatism of the West—is towards the complete expression of the life itself rather than in a consolidated output as apart from personal living. The main aim of the Teutonic genius is to place before the public some definite, appraisable article, hall-marked with the name of the author, who from thenceforth is known rather by his goods than for himself. The joy of the Slav genius is to live fully, perfectly, carelessly, answerable to the dæmon within, scornful of the outside clamour for an output for public sale or fame. The Russian lacks stability, possibly a Tartar heritage, yet he is possessed with a basic patient persistence. He uses the license of barbarism and the restraint of culture with both hands at the same time. He knows instinctively that occasion is above law, and human nature above custom; that harmony is greater than order, and life than the forms of living. The Russian attitude towards the whole of life is intuitive, not rationalistic; in this it is in direct opposition to the German Teutonic, which uses reason to elaborate a de-human-

ized theory of existence, and patiently, persistently, marches towards the perceived goal, ignoring all the subjective circumstances which arise to qualify and modify the scheme of action.

In the recent prohibition of alcohol throughout Russia the people loyally acquiesced in the drastic action of the Czar. Although the Government had probably profited by the recent series of remarkable experiments in Sweden, which proved that alcohol, in even dietic quantities, diminished the average of marksmanship in rifle-shooting, the people simply knew that excessive spirit drinking had been the ruination of their army in morale, discipline, and efficiency. They are heart and soul with the Government in the prosecution of this war against Germany. To insure the victory that *must* be theirs, this curse *must* be lifted from their army—immediately, by any means—and therefore with one single-eyed vision, without wasting time or energy in profitless discussion as to the loss to the revenue or the coercion of the individual, they saw the vital, initial need, and, regardless of all minor considerations, arose and forced their country to be sober. No Teutonic nation could have acted so clearly, so greatly, so *will*-fully. Germany and England both lie writhing but powerless in the grip of a like evil; the Slav, with his Eastern vision, strikes boldly for the present necessity.

In this war the whole soul of Russia is hurling back the imposition of the mental slavery of Teutonic mechanicalism with which her freedom is threatened. Russians attribute much of the tyrannous misgovernment under which they suffer to the insidious influence and direct interference of German militarism; they look forward, when this is removed, to an era of expansion and readjustment under the freedom of a Government expressive of their own ideals.

It is noteworthy that such oppressed nationalities as Finland and Georgia have never striven for separation from the Empire, but only for a restitution of rights already granted them by the Imperial order.

Georgia has especial claims on the Russian nation. Converted to Eastern Christianity as early as the fourth century, unaided she fought for 500 years for the Faith against Persians, Turks, and other savage invaders. But for the high civilization she had already attained, she must have succumbed before the onslaught; but for the strength of faith, of character, then maintained and fortified, she could not have preserved, in the face of more recent trouble, the national vigour and clearly defined characteristics with which she faces the world to-day. The twelfth century was the golden epoch of Georgian civilization; she continued her national development unhindered until 1783. In that year her King, Heraklaus, made a treaty with Catherine II. of Russia, which guaranteed the complete independence of Georgia under the Russian protection. Russia sent her Ambassador to the Georgian Court at Tiflis, and the treaty was faithfully kept till 1801, when it was violated by the annexation of Georgia as a Russian province, and since then all the rights accorded to Georgia by the treaty of 1783 have gradually been taken from her. All that Georgia demands to-day is the restoration of these Treaty Rights, that she may be free to express her individuality under the protection of the Russian Empire. She feels the more entitled to consideration, inasmuch as in the long campaign against the Turks and Persians, during the period of Russian expansion towards the south, it was the Georgian assistance which gave the victory ultimately to Russia. Georgia to-day furnishes the Russian Army with its most brilliant officers, to the number, in the present war, of about 1,500; besides these, there are 300,000 Georgian regulars and reserves in the Imperial Army.

Finland, too, with the prospect of autonomy, looks to the restitution of its Great Charter of Liberty, whereby in 1809 her first Grand Duke, Czar Alexander I., guaranteed her complete self-government within the Empire, not "subject to Russia," but "attached to her" by her "own evident interests."

The Empress Marie, returning to Petrograd, through Finland, at the beginning of the war, was received everywhere with acclamations and expressions of sympathy by the Finns, and while in Helsingfors showed her appreciation of their loyalty by commanding an escort of Finns instead of Russians, and preferring Finnish, rather than Russian, national music to be played in her honour. We can hope that the incident is significant, and attests a real desire on the part of the Czar that the promise of autonomy made to Poland should be also fulfilled towards Finland.

The right of small nationalities to their freedom is the avowed principle for which the Allies entered upon this great war. The proof of the sincerity of their respective Governments will be established only if, in the readjustment following upon their victory, the rights of internal self-government, of which those smaller nations have been dispossessed, are ungrudgingly restored to them in their entirety.

Freed from the German obsession of uniformity, we may look for the spontaneous welling up of every variety of national life within the vast Empire of the Great White Czar. We can trust the instinct, we can trust the vision, of the Russian people. Whatever the tyranny of their Government, the iron has not entered into their soul; the bodies may sometimes be scarred, but the soul roams free, striving untiringly for expression, with the message bursting with joy, with life, with energy, on its lips: "Behold, I make all things new."



# PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

## THE GODS OF THE HINDUS

BY R. A. LESLIE MOORE, I.C.S.(RETIRED)

I SHOULD like to state that this paper is an expansion of one I wrote for the *Times of India* about two years ago.

Two-thirds of the inhabitants of India are Hindus, and their religion is one of the oldest known to men. It can be traced back to its original sources in still existing records, chief of which are the four Vedas, the Itihases and Puranas, and the Institutes of Manu. Of the four Vedas—the Rig, Yajur, Sama, and Atharva—the first-named, the Rig Veda, is the earliest. Competent research has ascribed the composition of the Rig Veda to some time about 2500 B.C., but a recent writer, Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, in his book “The Arctic Home in the Vedas,” moves back the date to about 6000 B.C.—say about two thousand years before the creation of the world, according to the Authorized Version of the Bible.

The religion inculcated by the Vedas is polytheistic and non-idolatrous, deifying the primeval forces of Nature and natural phenomena. Idolatry was introduced into Hinduism at a later date, and was probably due to the contest between the original Aryans and the less civilized inhabitants of Eastern India, when the former advanced eastwards along the course of the Ganges from Afghanistan to the Punjab, Oude, and Agra.

The Rig Veda declares the deity Prajapati to have been the Creator, and represents him to have created the universe out of nothing by means of contemplation and the practice of austerities.

In later times Prajapati became Brahma, one of the Hindu triad. But the chief Veda gods were Indra, Agni, Soma, and Varuna-Mitra.

The principal of these was Indra. He is described as the "Ruler of Heaven," who slew the demon Vrittra. He refreshed himself with libations of Soma offered by his worshippers, rode through the heavens in his golden car, and destroyed his enemies with thunderbolts (Vajra) forged by Tvashtri, the Indian vulcan. He is the personification of the sky.

Next in importance comes Agni. Agni signifies fire.

He is the god of the sacrificial fire and the conveyer of the Soma sacrifice to the gods--hence the intercessor with the gods for men.

Now Agni may be identified with Rudra, who is termed the "lord of sacrifice."

Rudra's sons are the Maruts (the genii of the winds).

He is invoked as the god of tempests, "with braided hair," and is termed the "wild boar of the sky." He is further described as "tawny," "fair complexioned," "with a many-hued necklace," and finally is called the "Bull."

Undoubtedly he at a later date became identified with *Siva*, who is not mentioned by name in the Vedas, but to whom many of Rudra's attributes are assigned. Siva was, no doubt, one of the aboriginal gods of Eastern India.

Vishnu, however, does obtain mention as the "friend of Indra," close allied to Indra.

It is written of him :

"Through all the world strode Vishnu. Thrice his foot he planted, and the whole world was gathered into his footsteps' dust."

This description is generally considered to apply to the sun at dawn, noon, and sunset.

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, however, is of opinion that the three footsteps of Vishnu were planted in earth, heaven, and the nether regions.

*Soma* is a deification of a plant producing an intoxicating

drink much used at sacrificial ceremonies. Probably his worship fell into disuse owing to the increasing scarcity of the plant.

Varuna-Mitra, a twin-god, represented the sun respectively by night and day.

Mitra disappears from Hindu mythology, possibly because the torrid heat of the Indian plains was displeasing to the Aryan immigrants from the north.

He obtained prominence in the Zend-Avesta, the Scripture of the ancient Persians.

Varuna developed into the God of Waters, which are considered as the abode of darkness.

In the Rig Veda the gods are said to be thirty-three in number—a contrast to the numberless deities of modern Hindus, many of whom have been adopted from tribes taken into the fold of Hinduism.

Besides the principal Vedic deities already mentioned, the following goddesses may be named : Ushas (the dawn), Aditi (space), and Sarasvati or Vach (the goddess of speech).

One more Vedic personage may be noted—Manu, the progenitor of mankind.

It is related that Manu caught a small fish, which begged for its life and promised a reward for its preservation.

The patriarch put it into a jar of water, but soon it outgrew the jar.

Thereupon he restored it to its native element.

After this there ensued a universal deluge, but Manu took refuge in an ark, which was towed over the face of the waters by a rope attached to the horn of the friendly fish.

At last, on the subsidence of the flood, the ark grounded on a mountain-top.

Manu alighted and sacrificed to the gods.

To him appeared a fair maiden, Ida by name, whom he took to wife, and from the pair descended the human race.

It may be noted that in a post-Vedic Scripture, the great epic poem, entitled "The Mahabharata," by Vyas, Vishnu

and Siva are represented as in rivalry. But subsequently speculative thinkers came to look on both of them as emanations of Brahma, and then upon all three deities as one, emanating from the eternal, all-pervading Spirit of the Universe, Brahm.

Thus the polytheistic religion of the Vedas at a later age became transformed into a pantheism which identifies the world as god and god as the world.

As has been said by an old writer on Hinduism :

“Brahm's creative and preservative powers appear in Brahma and Vishnu, while Siva is the emblem of his destructive energy—not, however, of absolute annihilation, but rather of reproduction in another form.”

In metaphysics Brahma represents matter, Vishnu spirit, and Siva time, while in natural philosophy they stand respectively for earth, water, and fire.

Each of these personages is supposed to have a consort, the performer of his will, known as his Shakti.

Nowadays the mass of Hindus are divided into two great sects—the Vaishnavas, or adherents of Vishnu, and Saivas, the followers of Siva.

#### BRAHMA.

Brahma, the creative power of Brahm, the Universal Spirit, no longer has temples especially dedicated to his worship, perhaps because no peculiar benefit can be expected by his worshippers, as the work of creation is over and past. But as the first person of the Hindu triad of chief deities, some description must be given of his attributes.

Thus it is said in the sacred writings of the Hindus that all material forms existed in Brahma, and their germs were produced by him.

From his mouth sprang the priest (Brahman), from his arm the warrior (Kshatriya), from his thigh the trader or cultivator (Vaisya), and from his foot the serf and labourer (Sudra).

The sun sprang from his eye, and the moon from his mind.

He is depicted with four faces looking to the four quarters of the universe, and four arms.

In his hands he holds the Vedic script, a lustral spoon, a rosary, and a vessel containing water for ablutions preliminary to prayer and sacrifice.

His Shakti is the goddess Sarasvati, deity of speech, of harmony, and the arts.

Brahma's conventional steed is the wild goose, and that of Sarasvati the peacock.

#### VISHNU.

Vishnu is the second person of the Hindu triad.

He represents the preserving power of Brahm ; and probably has more worshippers among the Hindus than any other deity, whether in his original form or those of his avatars (incarnations).

He is a personification of the sun. He is also said to represent water or the humid principle generally. Thus he is also identified with air. Again he stands for space, and his colour is blue, its apparent tint.

His Shakti is the beauteous Lakshmi, goddess of prosperity, and his steed is Garuda, the man-headed eagle, mounted on whom he soars to the skies.

His symbol is the triangle with the apex downwards, as to descend is the property of water.

The chief avatars (incarnations) of Vishnu were ten in number, as follows :

1. Matsya (the fish).
  2. Kurma (the tortoise).
  3. Varaha (the boar).
  4. Narsingh (the man lion).
  5. Vaman (the dwarf).
  6. Parasa Rama }
  7. Rama
  8. Krishna
  9. Buddha
  10. Kalki (yet to come).
- names of personages.

The details of these avatars are briefly as follows, as stated in post-Vedic times.

#### MATSYA.

In the days of Manu mankind became corrupt, and was in consequence destroyed by a universal flood.

But by the favour and command of Vishnu, Manu, the seven Rishis (holy sages), and their wives, accompanied by pairs of all living creatures, entered into an ark.

Then Vishnu assumed the form of a fish with a monstrous horn, to which the ark was moored by a cable composed of a serpent, and thus outrode the flood.

On the subsidence of the flood Vishnu and Brahma slew a monster named Hyaglava, who had stolen the Vedas. These were restored to mankind. Which is an allegory, signifying that mankind in general was destroyed because the guidance of the Scriptures had been neglected, but a pious remnant was saved by the favour of God.

#### KURMA.

To recover the treasure lost in the universal flood, Vishnu became incarnate as a tortoise. On his back was placed a mountain, round which was coiled a serpent, and the gods on one side and the demons on the other with this implement churned the depths of ocean.

They recovered from the waters fourteen treasures :

1. The moon.
2. The goddess Lakshmi.
3. Wine.
4. Uchislas (an eight-headed horse).
5. Kustabha (a priceless jewel).
6. Parifat (a tree that yielded everything desired).
7. Surabhi (a similarly bountiful cow).
8. Dhanvanvara (a physician).
9. Kavat (the three-trunked elephant of Indra).
10. Chank (a conch conferring victory on whoever blew it).

11. Danuth (an unerring bow).
12. Bikh (poison).
13. Rhemba (a beautiful Apsara).
14. Amrit (the nectar of immortality).

It may be noted that as the Bikh threatened further injuries to mankind, Śiva intervened on their behalf and swallowed the poison, which had the effect of staining his throat blue—one of his characteristic marks.

#### VARAHA (THE BOAR).

The story of this incarnation is as follows :

A Daitya (demon), by name Hiranyaksha (golden-eyed), by the practice of austerities obtained from Brahma the double boon of universal sovereignty and of immunity from injury by noxious animals.

These latter he enumerated, but forgot to mention the boar.

Intoxicated with evil pride, he seized the earth and plunged it under the sea.

Vishnu came to the rescue by becoming incarnate as a boar.

He entered the depths of ocean, and after a struggle of a thousand years with the demon, whom he slew, emerged with the earth fixed on the points of his tusks.

This story is obviously a myth referring to a deluge.

#### NARSINGH (THE MAN LION).

Another Daitya, named Hiranya Kasipa, similarly obtained from Brahma the boon of universal sovereignty and of exemption from death by means of God, man or animal, by day or night, within doors or without, with the usual result that he became impious and arrogant.

One day at sunset he entered into an argument with his virtuous son as to the omnipresence of the deity, and demanded whether God was present in a pillar that stood at the threshold of his house.

Receiving an affirmative answer, he smote the pillar with his sword to show his contempt.

Then the column burst asunder, and Vishnu emerged in a form half-man, half-lion.

Seizing the impious wretch, he tore him asunder on the threshold at the moment the sun was setting.

#### VAMAN (THE DWARF).

Maha Bali was a virtuous monarch, whose head, however, was so turned by prosperity that he omitted to offer the essential oblations to the gods.

To punish him, Vishnu became incarnate as a Brahmin dwarf.

Appearing before the Raja, he asked as a reward for the performance of austerities as much space as he could cover with three steps.

Maha Bali assented, and to ratify his promise poured water on the suppliant's hand.

When the water touched him, the dwarf expanded till he blotted out the horizon.

With one step he traversed earth; with a second heaven, and with a third pressed Maha Bali down into Patala (the nether regions).

This legend is a version of the "three steps of Vishnu," described in the Veda, and obviously refers to the daily progress of the sun at sunrise, noon, and sunset.

#### PARASA RAMA.

Parasa Rama, son of the Rishi Jamadagni and his wife Raneka, was born near Agra.

The Rishi had been entrusted by Indra with the care of the boon-granting cow Surabhi, and her the tyrant Raja Dhiraj attempted to seize.

In the ensuing struggle Jamadagni was slain, and Surabhi was caught up to the celestial regions.

Raneka resolved thereupon to become a Sati, and before she was consumed on her husband's funeral pyre



cursed Dhiraj and enjoined her son to avenge his parents.

In answer to the Sati's prayers Vishnu became incarnate in Parasa Rama.

The latter, after fighting a score of battles with Dhiraj, finally defeated and slew him, annihilating at the same time the Kshatriya caste, of which Dhiraj was the leader.

This legend no doubt preserves the memory of an actual conflict between the two leading castes, the Brahmins and Kshatriyas.

#### RAMA OR RAMCHANDRA.

This heroic incarnation of Vishnu won as his bride the peerless Sita, adopted daughter of the Raja Janaka, by hitting a mark with an arrow from the bow Dhanuth, which none but Rama could bend.

One of his defeated rivals was Ravan, the ogre King of Ceylon, a monster with ten heads and twenty hands. Subsequent to the marriage Ravan carried off the fair Sita to Ceylon, but after a fierce contest she was restored by Rama with the aid of Hanuman and his monkey followers.

The so-called monkeys are believed to have been aboriginal tribes friendly to the early Aryans.

After Sita had emerged unscathed from an ordeal by fire, intended to test her chastity, she was taken back by her bridegroom. This story is the subject of Valmiki's great epic poem, the "Ramayana."

#### KRISHNA.

Krishna is the favourite incarnation of Vishnu among Hindus.

His mortal parents were Vasudra and Devaki, sister of the Raja Kansas.

The latter—the Raja Kansas—was informed by a sooth-sayer that his pregnant sister would bear a son destined to slay him.

He placed a guard over Devaki, intending to kill the infant as soon as it was born.

But Devaki's husband Vasudra, evading the vigilance of the guards, escaped across the Jumna with the new-born babe.

As he crossed the stream, the water rose till it kissed the infant's feet, and then sank again to aid Vasudra's crossing.

Thus was testimony borne to the divine origin of Krishna.

When Kansas heard that the infant son of his sister had been carried away, he ordered a massacre of the infants (as did Herod in after ages), in the hope that the babe might meet his death.

Krishna, however, was in safety far away, entrusted to the keeping of a herdsman, Ananda, and his wife, Yasuda.

He passed his childhood and youth piping, dancing, and sporting with the young cowherds and milkmaids (Gopis). While yet a child he destroyed the serpent Kaliya, emulating the infant Hercules.

When only seven years old he protected his rustic friends from a deluge of rain sent down by Indra to punish them for neglecting his sacrifices while adoring Krishna.

This he accomplished by holding over them the mountain Goverdhan torn up from its roots.

On another occasion a number of maidens had assembled together to celebrate his incarnation by dancing. He provided each of them with an attendant swain by multiplying his own personality.

Another of his superhuman feats was the rescue of the children of Kasya, Krishna's Guru (spiritual preceptor) from Yamapuri (the City of the Dead).

He did this at the entreaty of their mother, and to do so first fought and slew the Sea demon Sankasara, whose magic conch he seized as the spoils of victory.

With its blast he frightened Yama, ruler of the nether regions, into surrendering the Guru's offspring.

The lives of Krishna and Radha are famous, and are the subject of a pastoral drama entitled "*Gita Govinda*," by Jaidav, who wrote before the Christian Era.

Their attachment is said to signify the reciprocal attraction between the Divine Goodness and the Human Soul, much as the Song of Solomon has been interpreted in a religious sense.

A common appellation of Krishna is Murlidhar, the flute-player, for he is credited with the invention of the flute, just as Apollo is said to have originated the lute.

And just as the object of Apollo's admiration, Daphne, was turned into a laurel, so a nymph became the Tulsi, or basil, sacred to Krishna.

#### BUDDHA.

Gautama Buddha is said by Hindus to have been an avatar of Vishnu.

The god apparently took upon himself this incarnation in order to reclaim the Hindus from their early proneness to sacrifices of blood—the slaughter not only of animals, as in the Asvamedh, but even of men, as in the Naramedh.

According to the flesh, Buddha was the son of a Raja of Kailas.

When a youth he gained in marriage Vasutara, daughter of Raja Chuhiban, by bending a bow beyond the strength of all other suitors for the maiden's hand.

Thus did Rama win the fair Sita, and Odysseus performed a similar feat, not to win a bride, but to rescue his faithful wife Penelope.

Even at his birth Buddha was clearly set apart for a high destiny by the marks resembling wheels or the sun on the palms of his infant hands.

A figure of Buddha is to be found in the Gharipuri caves or Elephanta among the numerous images of celestial beings worshipped by Hindus.

#### KALKI.

This incarnation is yet to come.

It is believed that Vishnu, mounted on a white horse and wielding a naked sword, will come in radiant glory to end

the present Kaliyuga, and usher in an age of purity throughout creation.

With this may be compared the passage in the nineteenth chapter of St. John's Revelation, where the apostle writes of a Divine being seated on a white horse making war in righteousness.

The third person of the Hindu triad must now be described.

#### SIVA.

This is Siva, often said to be the destroying power or attribute of Brahm, the Universal Spirit.

More correctly he may be termed the power of reproduction.

For Hindu philosophy rejects the idea of annihilation.

It regards destruction as really a rearrangement of indestructible atoms, and therefore in its essence the same as reproduction.

Siva represents time, and his symbols are the sun, fire, and the ling or phallos, the type of reproduction.

His consort is Bhavani, who under the name of Prakriti represents created nature. Bhavani has a steed of her own (the tiger), thus differing from most other Shaktis.

Siva rides on a bull (the Nandi), white like himself, and representing divine justice.

The god's locks are ruddy.

He carries in his hands a trisul (trident) and a pash (a rope for binding and strangling criminals).

In his forehead is a third eye, and round it the mark of a crescent moon, while his neck is wreathed with serpents, the emblem of eternity, and is encircled with a garland of human skulls.

On his head he wears as ornaments Ganga (the holy river), Chandra (the moon), and Sesh Nag (the prince of serpents).

(It may be noted that Hindus consider great spiritual benefit may be gained by drinking the water of the Ganges,

and still more by dying on its banks. If death occurs at the point where the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Sarasvati unite—the latter flowing underground invisible to human eye—the deceased attains beatitude at once, without the trial of further metempsychosis.)

As already stated, Siva's colour is white, while Brahma is represented as red, and Vishnu dark blue.

Siva's three eyes denote his view of time—past, present, and to come.

As he is identical with fire, his symbols all point upwards, as, for instance, a triangle with apex upwards, an obelisk, or a pillar.

To conclude this account of the god, the similarities between him and the Grecian deity Zeus may be noted.

Both dwelt on mountain-tops, Siva on Kailas, and Zeus on Olympus.

Both repelled the attacks of rebellious monsters, Siva those of the Daityas, while Zeus overwhelmed the Titans. Finally, both defeated their foes by like methods, Siva by showering on them fiery shafts, and Zeus by hurling thunderbolts.

#### SHAKTI.

Each of the three persons of the celestial triad of the Hindus has a consort Shakti, who is a personification of his energy, an active performer of his will.

Thus the consort of Brahma is Sarasvati, and those of Vishnu and Siva respectively Lakshmi and Parvati.

These goddesses may now be described.

#### *Sarasvati.*

Sarasvati, the consort of Brahma, is the goddess of imagination, invention, and speech, the patroness of the arts.

Her name signifies "flowing," an epithet applicable both to eloquence and to the mysterious river called after her.

She is depicted as riding on a peacock, and carrying a *vina*, a sort of Oriental lyre.

*Lakshmi.*

The beauteous Lakshmi, consort of Vishnu the preserver, is the goddess of riches and prosperity.

It may be noted that the Deccan peasants call their cattle Lakshmi. Reversing the order, the Latin word *pecunia* was derived from *pecus*, a herd of cattle.

So highly do Brahmins reverence the cow that they will feed the animal before breaking their own fast, and releasing a cow is part of the ceremonies of marriage, while cow's urine is held to be the greatest of all purifiers.

It is related that when the gods and demons combined to churn the ocean after the deluge, one of the treasures drawn from the waves was the fair Lakshmi. The goddess is sometimes depicted as holding in her hands the conch and discus of her lord, Vishnu.

She shares with him his steed, the man-headed eagle Garud.

*Parvati.*

Parvati, the spouse of Siva, is also called Bhavani, Durga, Kali, and Devi.

Under the name Bhavani she represents the power of fecundity, and in this form especially is considered the Shakti of Siva the reproducer.

As Durga she stands for valour united with wisdom.

It was as Durga that she slew the buffalo demon Mahisasur, after whom the Hindu State of Mysore is called.

But in her character of Kali or Devi she was, in ancient days, the recipient of human sacrifices.

Thus the Kalika Puran says :

“ By a human sacrifice attended by the forms laid down Devi is pleased one thousand years, and by a sacrifice of three men one hundred thousand years.”

It is stated in the same Puran that an enemy may be immolated by proxy through the substitution of a buffalo or goat, which should be called by his name throughout the ceremony.

Kali was the patron goddess of the Thugs of old, and is the favourite deity of modern Hindu anarchists.

The chief "shaktis" of the gods have now been described, and it remains to mention the principal minor deities of the Hindu Pantheon. •

First among these comes Ganesh, or Ganpati.

#### GANESH.

Ganesh is the god of prudence and policy, to be invoked at the beginning of all enterprises.

He is depicted as riding on a rat, and is said to be the son of Siva and Parvati.

Pictures and images always represent him as having an elephant's head.

This may be an indication of his sagacity, but there is a legend that accounts for it in another way.

It is said that in days of yore the great god Siva went a-hunting.

On his return to the abode of his spouse, the gracious Parvati, he found his entrance barred by his son Ganesh. The latter had been set to watch the door while his mother bathed.

Impatient of obstruction, Siva struck off his offspring's head.

Parvati, emerging from her seclusion, found him lying headless, and assailed her lord with bitter reproaches.

Smitten with remorse, Siva plunged into the forest, and slaying the first animal he met—which happened to be an elephant—he cut off its head, and hastening back fixed it on Ganesh's shoulders, thus recalling him to life.

Ganesh has two wives, Siddhi and Buddhi, daughters of Vishvarupa. His brother Kartikaya was his rival for their hands.

It was agreed that whichever aspirant could first traverse the earth should win the maidens for his brides.

Kartikaya, all eagerness, set forth, but before his return Ganesh, by ingenious arguments, persuaded his prospective

father-in-law that he had already accomplished the task (which he had not troubled to attempt), and thus gained the much desired prizes.

On another occasion six of his fellows conspired against the Rishi Gautama.

At their instigation Ganesh became incarnate as an emaciated cow, and in that shape provoked Gautama to anger.

The angered Saint smote the feeble animal with a blade of grass—not an act of extreme violence, but sufficient to quench its flickering spark of vitality.

Gautama was at once plunged in horror and remorse when he saw the sacred animal dead at his feet (for to slay a Brahmin or a cow are the greatest sins possible for a Hindu).

But Siva, knowing the artifice by which he had been entrapped, pardoned the repentant sinner and purified him by pouring on him the waters of the Ganges from his ruddy locks.

#### INDRA.

Indra was the chief of the Vedic deities. He is described by an old writer as "the personification of the firmament, the god of thunder, with inferior genii under his command.

He rules over the eastern quarter of the world, and is chief of the celestial bands stationed on the summit of Mount Meru, where he entertains the gods with draughts of nectar and heavenly music.

He is called the lord of wealth because he possesses the all-yielding tree, Pariyatak, and the all-producing cow, Kamdanu.

His steed is the elephant Indravati, the trunk of which is the waterspout. His bow is the rainbow (which it is unlucky to point out), and he rules over winds and showers.

He is said to be covered with eyes, and hence is named "the thousand-eyed."



But in post-Vedic scripts he seems to have fallen from his high estate. For therein he is described as profligate and jealous of sacrifices offered to other deities, as, for instance, when he attempted to overwhelm the rustic worshippers of the youthful Krishna:

He is even called Sakra, as an adviser of evil.

#### HANUMAN.

Hanuman is said to have been the son of a Brahmin woman named Anjeni, granted to her as a boon by Mahadev (Siva) in answer to her prayers and offerings.

His reputed father was Pavan, chief of the Maruts, or genii of the winds. Hence he is known as Maruti—his common designation in the Deccan, where his images adorn all villages of any size, and where he shares with Ganesh the chief favour of the Mahratta peasants.

Hanuman was the chief ally of Rama when the divine hero invaded Ceylon to recover his ravished bride from the grasp of the monster Ravan. He brought with him a tribe of monkeys (Hanuman's images generally represent him in the form of a monkey), which not only fought bravely against the demon hosts of Ravan, but built the bridge between India and Ceylon by which Rama's army passed over the intervening waters.

Indeed, he saved Rama and his host from defeat. For when they had been laid insensible by the enchanted weapons of Ravan, he repaired to Dangiri, a hill in Northern India, where alone was to be found the shrub Sanjivi, by which they might be restored to consciousness.

This herb was to be identified by a lamp placed under it. But the malignant Indra, ill-affected towards the avatar of Vishnu, had placed a lamp under every shrub on the hill.

Hanuman, however, was not to be baffled.

Tearing up the hill by its roots, he bore it to Ceylon, and the leaves of Sanjivi restored the strength of the prostrate hero and his followers.

Two deities remain to be described,—Kama and Yama, the gods of love and death.

#### KAMA.

Kama is the Hindu god of love. He is the son of Maya (Illusion) and wedded to Reti (affection).

His bosom friend is Vasant, the spring.

Thus does the poetry of East and West agree, for did not Tennyson write :

“ In the Spring a young man’s fancy  
Lightly turns to thoughts of love ” ?

Kama rides on a parrot and his banner displays a fish on a red ground.

His weapons, like those of Cupid, are arrows, five in number, tipped with flowers supposed each to affect one of the five senses.

Chief of these is the strongly scented Champak.

#### YAMA.

As death is the end of all things, a mention of Yama may fittingly conclude this account of the gods of the Hindus.

Yama rules the South or Lower world where Hindus locate the infernal regions. He has two dogs, named respectively Kerbura (spotted), or Trisiras (three-headed), and Syama (black), names that recall the classic Cerberus.

His city is Yamapuri, and there the soul repairs immediately on quitting its tenement of clay.

According to the sentence of Yama it ascends to Swarga (the heaven of Indra) or descends to Naraka (the snaky hell), or returns to earth to reoccupy a material form, whether animal, vegetable or mineral.

But even Yama is not invincible, for Krishna, rescued from his gloomy realm the children of Kasya, and Mahadev, (Siva) springing out of the image of the Ling, repelled him when, mounted on his steed (the buffalo), he sought to seize Mahadev’s adorer the devout Markandaya.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, November 9, 1914, a lantern lecture was delivered by Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, I.C.S. (retired), entitled "The Gods of the Hindus." Sir Andrew Wingate, K.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhowm-aggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Samuel Swinton Jacob, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., and Lady Jacob, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Herbert Pennington and Miss Pennington, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Colonel McCausland, Lady Wilson, Mrs. R. A. Leslie Moore, Mr. and Mrs. West, Mrs. Fraser, Miss Leask, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. K. S. Jassawalla, Mr. and Mrs. Wilmot Corfield, Miss Corfield, Mrs. Eckstein, Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., and Mrs. Kelway-Bamber, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. James Macdonald, Mrs. Phillips, Miss Andrews, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Cook, Miss Silvar, Mrs. and Miss Bean, Mrs. Drury, Mr. H. Woodward, Mrs. Henderson, Mr. Khaja Ismail, Mr. Reddy, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mrs. Jackson, Miss Ashton, Mr. C. Bunbury, Dr. Bhabha, Mr. Dean, Mr. T. Everatt, Miss Hallward, Miss Macleod, Mr. W. F. Holms, Mr. S. Abu Ali and friend, Mrs. Harte, Mr. John R. Marsh, Miss Webster, Mrs. Walsh and three friends, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Miss Wade, Mr. and Mrs. Rustom P. Jehangier, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the subject of our lecture this afternoon is, as you are all aware, "The Gods of the Hindus." It is a somewhat wide subject, and as far as I can judge from the paper it has been very ably treated. I will not at this stage say anything about the paper, but will merely introduce to you—although I do not think that is necessary—the lecturer, Mr. Moore, a name very well known, and that of an officer with whom I have had the privilege of working on various occasions; a man very strong, capable, upright, and conscientious; one of those men who have left a good name behind them in India, and I do not think there is any reward we can have for our service better than to be shrined in the hearts of some of those Indians for whom we have worked. (Hear, hear.)

The LECTURER: Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to state first of all that this paper is an expansion of one that I wrote about a couple of years ago for the *Times of India*. I think that acknowledgment is necessary.

The lecture was then read, and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN: I think that hearty response shows that we have all appreciated this paper, which has been prepared with so much care and elaboration. I understand that there are many people here well acquainted with the "Gods of the Hindus." I cannot claim that knowledge myself, but I have been greatly interested in the paper, which is full of suggestive thought. There are others who I hope will say a few words afterwards, but I will merely mention one or two points which have occurred to me. One is that the Vedas are supposed to be as old as 2500 B.C. That took me a little by surprise, as I thought 1500 B.C. was about the date.

Then, I think, we must all be conscious of a certain feeling of sadness as one reads carefully and with sympathy that there was originally the idea of one God—at all events, as near as possible—and it passes into more multiplied forms, and from the pure into the impure. After a time the number of gods grows to thirty-three, and I believe now there are an immense number. I suppose that has been taken from the idea of having a census of the heavenly population, not altogether all gods, but merely including all people supposed to be in the heavenly regions. Then we are told the original Deity created all things out of nothing. That is in harmony with the Bible account, and also with the most recent ideas of scientific men, that things that are seen are created out of an immaterial spiritualized sort of thing. It rather astonishes one to be told that the Creator created by the practice of austerities, and that He performed ablutions preliminary to prayer and sacrifice. One would have supposed from these remarks that there must have been some higher deity to be propitiated by the austerities and by the prayer and sacrifice. There may be an explanation of that, but there is another imperfection that strikes one. We are told that from the mouth springs the Brahmin, and from the feet the Sudra. One remembers what St. Paul said about the body, that all the members are coequal; but here it looks as though the head of the god is superior to his feet. That would indicate a certain imperfection somewhere or other—at least, there is the idea of imperfection. To us it is a contradistinction to the great idea of the present day that all men are brothers. When you get men springing from the superior and the inferior parts of the god, it annihilates the idea of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, two of the great ideals of the present day—at all events to us.

Then I was rather interested in those pictures to notice how the power depends upon the cobra (or serpent). Visiting temples in India one frequently saw that either the god is seated upon the serpent, or there is a halo of serpents around his head, or he is holding the serpent in his hand as the sceptre of power. That takes us back to ancient times, where the serpent apparently was originally the object of adoration in India.

One finds it underlying adoration everywhere. I remember a Brahmin who gave me the picture of a cow (probably it was to educate me in the sanctity of the cow). It had all the gods and goddesses in different parts of it, and I looked at it with great care, as I was always interested in the Cobra theory. I studied the cow, but I could not find the serpent anywhere, and so at last I said to my friend the Brahmin: "Where is the cobra?" He said: "Of course it is there." And I said: "I cannot find it." Then he pointed it out very cunningly devised in the tail of the cow.

Most of you will know that at Benares the Worshipper there may be seen on the banks of the river always holding the tail of the cow in his hands as he confessed his sins and gets absolution.

Then, again, the lecturer mentioned the blue-coloured throat as connected with Vishnu. That reminds me of a story told by one we all know—Sir George Grierson. He found a tribe in Northern India—a few of them were Christians—and they said that God was blue. Sir George was very much concerned about this, and they produced their translation of the Lord's Prayer, and he found out that "Our Heavenly Father" had been translated as "Our Sky-blue Father," the word for heavens being sky-blue. That just shows how very easily those ideas can creep into religion—just a mistranslation or a mistake.

Then there was something in the incarnation of the boar that caught my attention, namely, that the demon seized the earth and plunged it into the sea. Anyone who has been in the Himalayas will have noticed those ridges of sand-waves on the rocks, looking exactly as if it was sea-sand thrown up in different places, and I suppose those old Indians of that bygone time had brains as well as we have, and thought over things carefully, and came to the conclusion that the earth had been under the sea at one time; and not being able to account for it by writing a geological treatise, they invented the story of the boar, which explains the whole of these things that we see to-day. Another point occurred to me in connection with the presence of God in the heap of metal. That recalled to me an instance in my own life. I was in Rajputana doing some land work that took me to the wells, and I came to a new well which had been blasted out of blue stone rock, and after looking at the well from the business point of view, I noticed a little shrine by the well, a block of the blue stone put there with some red paint over it, and the usual rice and other things in front. So I said to my cultivator: "I see you are starting a shrine here, but you might have got a better bit of stone than that." "Oh," he said, "the deity is in that stone—the evil deity." I said: "Well, why?" And he replied: "This well has cost us two thousand rupees to make, and my father had a tremendous struggle to get to the water. Over and over again we went down, and no water; but at last it came, and my father said: 'Just let me down once more to look at my well,' and we two sons got him into the bucket and lowered him down, and after he had taken a look round at his work he said: 'Now then, haul up,' and as he spoke those words that stone leaped out of that hole, which you can see, and struck my father fair upon the head and killed him. We

took that stone out, and we brought it up here, and we have worshipped it ever since!" I said to him: "But that was an accident, was it not?" And he said: "Listen to this. You see where that stone was; the place is only 3 or 4 feet from the top. As you have noticed, the well has been blasted and blasted right down to the bottom, and that stone never moved before, but at that last moment out jumped that stone." I could not convince him it had been an accident, and I believe now you will find that a small shrine has been built, and no doubt it is quite a famous deity. That shows how a thing comes about through perfectly natural causes.

In conclusion I would like to say one word about Rama and Sita. I have always looked on Rama and Sita as one of the uplifting stories of Hindustan. When at Agra we look at the Taj, we cannot but feel that that lovely building, that has withstood the centuries, and has never been marred by riot or war, continues to be the representation and type of the power of one good honest capable woman over the most powerful of men. Sita is just a similar type for the Hindus. She comes down as the example of pure honourable womanhood, and I have thought over and over again in India that just as we have learned from the stories of these gods, how they gradually tend to lower and lower levels as time goes on even into impurity, so I believe the men of India would have long ago been lost had it not been for the noble womanhood of India. (Hear, hear.)

Now I will call on Sir Arundel Arundel to make a few remarks.

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL wished to express his concurrence with what the Chairman had said with regard to the very great interest of Mr. Moore's paper.

What had occurred to him with respect to this subject of the paper was this: How were they to secure a knowledge of what the philosophers called "the reality that lies behind appearances"? They wanted to find out the meaning of these Hindu representations, and it was a most difficult task. There was a novel by the late Charles Reade called "Put Yourself in His Place." The words of this title indicate a clue to success, and it must also be remembered that there is no *necessary* connection between a symbol, possibly crude or even repulsive, and the thing or faith symbolized. One of the representations on the screen was of the god Ganesh, with the elephant head. To those who had not been in India, it seemed a repulsive idea that worship should be given to a symbol of this character, and yet the figure of Ganesh was worshipped from Nepal in the Himalayas to Cape Comorin in the far south. The crudeness of the symbol of this representation of practical wisdom in no way affected the faith of the worshipper. He had a vivid memory of a wayside incident which he saw the last time he was in Benares a good many years ago. Walking along a narrow street, he saw in a bend of the road an image of Ganesh, black and dirty from the libations of oil poured over it. As he looked there came by a poor, old, sad-faced widow, wearing a common white cloth over her shaven head; and as she passed she stopped in front of the black, grimy figure, placed a few little yellow flowers before it, and

passed on. He had never forgotten the impression left by that scene on his mind. The symbol might be *crude or grotesque to the stranger*, yet this poor, sad woman, on whose life there had been more shadows than sunshine, made through it her offering of faith and hope in a divine wisdom.

To pass to another instance. Take the famous shrine of Juggernath at Puri, in Orissa, which was visited every year by hundreds of thousands of pilgrim worshippers. He produced a rough oil-painting of a kind sold for a few annas at the shrine to the pilgrims as mementoes of their pilgrimage. It represented the misshapen, unlovely figures of the triad there worshipped—Jaganada, his brother Balaram, and his sister Subadra. Their images are said to have been carved each one out of a timber thrown up by the sea. Within this great temple alone of Hindu temples in India all caste distinctions temporarily disappeared. This is supposed to be due to the reputed fact that the shrine was originally Buddhist, but became Hindu on the Brahminical revival about the beginning of the present era. He was once travelling on the Muhanadi from Puri to Balasore on board a steamer with a number of pilgrims returning homeward from the shrine. He got into conversation, through an interpreter, with an elderly and apparently well-to-do man, who was travelling with his wife and sister, and he inquired if he might know what was the object of the man's pilgrimage—what prayer or vow did he desire to make. The traveller told him that he had come from a distant place in the west of India about a thousand miles away; he had no son of his own, but he had a nephew, the son of his brother, and he had come with his wife and sister to make offerings and prayers in the temple of Jaganath for the success of his nephew in the course of his after-life.

Here, again, the crudity and even repulsiveness of the symbol bore no apparent relation whatever to the faith in a divine power that was believed to underlie it.

With regard to the picture they had seen on the screen relating to the churning of the sea of milk, to make the food of heaven for the gods—a very curious and mysterious representation—he exhibited a brass, copper, and silver plaque of the same subject, designed by a Hindu artisan. The demons are in copper, and the gods in silver; between them stands the Mountain of Mystery, Mandara, with the great snake twisted round it. In one of the earlier pictures on the screen Vishnu was shown reclining on the snake, from yuga to yuga, or age to age. The snake was the symbol of Time, and endless time was symbolized here in the West by the snake with its tail in its mouth. He had long been much interested in this strange scene of this churning of the sea of milk, and remembered hearing Lord Curzon say on one occasion that in the ancient ruins of Hindu temples in the jungles of Siam this same parable was depicted on the ruined walls. He had asked a pundit friend for the interpretation of it, and this was the reply: The sea of milk is the ocean of existence; the great mountain is the world itself; the gods are good impulses; the demons are bad impulses; the twisted snake is the symbol of Time. The

interaction and conflict of good and bad impulses throughout the world results in the course of ages in the creation of what the Hindu sages called "the Nectar of the Gods," that is to say, all the ideas of religion and civilization, culture, art, and everything else on which humanity lives and has been developed.

The LECTURER, in reply, said he wished to thank the meeting for their courteous attention, and to add that thanks were also due to the photographer, Mr. Davenport, for the excellent way in which he had produced the slides.

A very interesting point brought out by Sir Arundel Arundel was that the triad of gods at Puri appeared to consist of two male persons and one female. That was a feature he had not met with elsewhere. Finally he desired to express his great obligations to the Chairman for the able way in which he had filled the Chair, and for his interesting speech. (Hear, hear.)

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGEE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer and the chairman, said the subject had been treated in a very instructive and popular manner. (Hear, hear.) The origin of the Hindu religion and the various forms in which the followers gave expression to their belief in it had been well explained by the lecturer, and he dared say many in the audience had derived an intelligent appreciation of that profound subject after listening to the address. One feature in it which was worth special notice was that the lecturer had fully granted that the Hindu religion was not idolatrous, but that in its origin and essence it enjoined belief in the Almighty. (Cheers.) European writers on Oriental religions had in numerous instances fastened on followers of Zarathushtrian and Hindu faiths the charge of idolatry, which was both erroneous and offensive. The worship of many gods by different sects of Hindus which the lecturer had mentioned might be traced to that instinct, in the worshippers, of fear of evil spirits and influences which the mild disposition of the Hindus perhaps thought it wise to subdue by propitiation. That instinct was not unknown even among Christians, as is illustrated by the well-known story of a devout old lady who was seen to make profound bows in church whenever the name of the Evil One occurred in the course of the service. When she was asked by someone who had remarked this fact the reason of her doing so, she replied that it was prudent to be on good terms all round, as one did not know with whom one might have to deal in the future. (Laughter and cheers.) Sir Mancherjee coupled with the vote of thanks the name of Sir Andrew Wingate, who had so ably presided, and who, like Sir Arundel Arundel, had made an instructive contribution to the proceedings of the afternoon. (Cheers.)

MR. WHITWORTH, in seconding the vote of thanks, said that in speaking of the images of the temples and idolatry, they ought always to remember that behind this seeming idol-worship there was a proper conception of God. It might be noted that there were numerous temples to Shiva, Vishnu, etc., in India, but one never saw there a real temple to God as conceived by the Hindus. The people of the West were too addicted to



praying for people in other lands as *Jews, Turks, infidels, etc., without* thinking sometimes of the various defaulters in their own country. Those who had been magistrates and judges in India would know that when they put an Indian on his oath they made no reference to Vishnu or Brahmin, but referred simply to the abstract God, which was too sacred in the Hindu mind for any terrestrial temple ever to be erected to him. (Hear hear.)

This terminated the proceedings.

## INDIAN SOLDIERS' FUND

THE following resolution was passed by the Council of the East India Association at a meeting held on Monday, October 19, 1914.

It was proposed by Sir William Ovens Clark, seconded by Mr. R. A. Leslie Moore, and carried unanimously,

“ That the Association subscribe £50 to the ‘ Indian Soldiers’ Fund,’ and that subscriptions be invited from individual Members also.”

(Signed) J. POLLEN,  
*Hon. Secretary.*

	£	s.	d.
East India Association .. ..	50	0	0
R. A. Leslie Moore, Esq. .. ..	5	0	0
G. E. Ward, Esq. ... ..	5	0	0
Sir William Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I. ..	2	2	0
J. Sykes Gamble, Esq. .. ..	2	2	0
A. F. Cox, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
E. H. Man, Esq. ... ..	1	0	0
Mrs. and Miss Forrest .. ..	0	10	0
	66	15	0

## EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

SESSION 1914-1915

THE following papers have been promised, and the Literary Committee hope to be able to arrange for their reading and discussion in due course, in addition to other papers which may be hereafter offered :

“ The Rally of India to the Flag.” By A. Yusuf Ali, Esq., I.C.S. (retired), at the Caxton Hall on Monday, November 23, at 4 p.m.

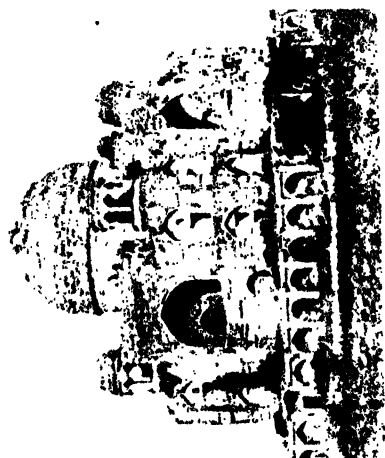
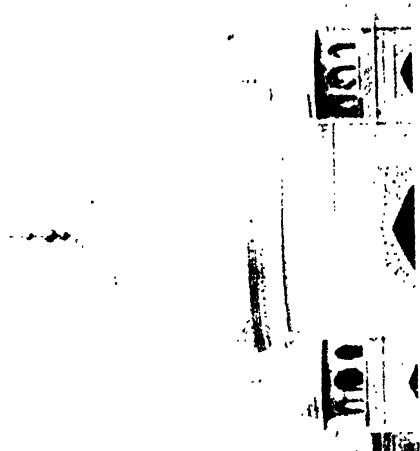
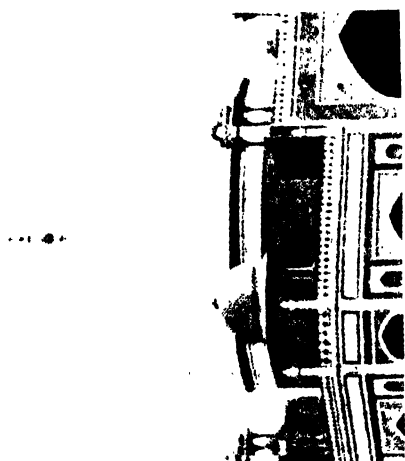
“ The Constitution of the Indian Contingent.” By Lieutenant-Colonel D. C. Phillott.

“ The Princes of India and their Retinues.” By Saint Nihal Singh, Esq.

“ Indian Railways.” By Neville George Priestley, Esq., late Indian Public Works Department.

“ Akbar.” By Vincent Arthur Smith, Esq., I.C.S. (retired).





## INDIAN DOMES OF PERSIAN ORIGIN

By K. A. C. CRESWELL, M.R.A.S.

ALTHOUGH the dome is a structural feature not found in India till, after the Muhammadan conquest, the earliest dome in which I see distinctly Persian features is the dome of the mosque in the Purānā Kilā of Shēr Shāh. It has windows round its base—a most unusual feature in Indian domes, which certainly permits us to seek a foreign origin for it.

Let us endeavour to trace back this feature in Muhammadan architecture. The earliest instance known to me of anything of the sort occurs in Persia, in the mausoleum of Imamzadeh Yahia at Veramin,\* which was built in A.D. 1186. Although the dome in this case is not itself pierced with windows, in each face of the octagonal drum on which it stands may be seen narrow slit-like openings. The next instance is also to be found at Veramin, where exactly the same feature may be seen in the Masjid-i-Jama, a great building of the Golden Age of Persian architecture; it was built in A.D. 1322 by Sultan Abu Said. Although in neither of these buildings do we find the base of the dome itself pierced, yet they are important, in that they are sign-posts pointing the way, and showing the desire for the bolder feature, which first finds expression in this tentative and halting manner.

I shall now give an instance in which we find, for the

\* F. Sarre, "Denkmäler persischer Baukunst," Fig. 65.

first time, the problem solved in its bolder form. The building shown (Plate A\*) is at Tūs, near Meshed, in Khurāsān; its date is not known. Here we see the base of the dome itself pierced with windows (some of which have been bricked up), and in order to neutralize the weakening effect of this, it has been built with a massive, stepped, and sixteen-sided lower part. According to O'Donovan,† its internal height cannot be much under 70 feet. He also states that a "gallery seems to have run round the interior of the dome, if one may judge by the remains of wood beams and the spaces sunk in the walls."

I believe the only writer who has attempted to date this building is Professor A. V. W. Jackson, who suggests the middle of the twelfth century as its probable date, thinking it may possibly be the mausoleum of Hamid ibn Kahtabah, mentioned by Yakut in 1216.‡ His choice, however, is apparently limited by his statement (p. 278) regarding Tūs, that "finally the Mongols crushed it never to rise again from the dust in which it lies to-day"—a mistake made by Fraser. As a matter of fact, Ibn Batutah visited it a century later, and describes it as one of the most famous towns in Khurāsān. In 1381 Timur occupied it, and took possession of the province. In 1387 Haji Beg Jani Kurbani, one of Timūr's nobles, rebelled at Tūs, strengthened the town, and struck coins in his own name, whereupon Timur sent his youngest son Mirān Shāh against it, who took it after a siege of several months, and massacred 10,000 people. Yet this was not the end of it, as Mirkhond gives an account of a visit Shāh Rukh made to it in A.H. 822 (1419). Khanikoff found a tablet there dated A.H. 983 (1575), and he adds that Tūs does not disappear from the list of places engraved on the tablets of Persian astrolabes until after A.H. 1100 (1685).§ The object in fixing the

\* By kind permission of Colonel C. E. Yate.

† "The Merv Oasis," vol. ii., p. 15.

‡ "From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam," p. 288.

§ "Mémoire sur la partie méridionale de l'Asie centrale," p. 31.

geographical position of important places is, of course, to help in the casting of horoscopes, and the position of an uninhabited place would scarcely be found there, so it is evident that the present desertion of Tūs only dates from the commencement of the eighteenth century. It is therefore futile to attempt to date the building from any considerations of this sort, and in the absence of any other evidence, we must fall back on its degree of architectural development to help us. Personally, from the striking feature I have referred to, I would suggest the first half of the fifteenth century for this part, at least, of the building.

I do not think anyone can fail to notice its striking resemblance to the dome of Shēr Shāh's mosque, built in 1541. The stepped part in this latter is not so unnecessarily massive, but none the less it is sixteen-sided, and to add to its stability it is weighted at each of its angles with a small pinnacle 5 feet high (Plate B). This illustration is taken from Russell Sturgis's "History of Architecture,"\* as it shows the windows round the base so clearly. Most photographs show the top of the gateway restored, which effectually conceals them.

Though domes with pierced bases are, as I have said, extremely rare in India, there are nevertheless a few other examples, all falling within the same century as the one above—viz., the tomb of Adham Khān, built by Akbar at Delhi, *circa* A.D. 1566;† the Kālī, or Kalān Masjid, built at Agra by the father of Shāh Jahān's first wife, the Kandahāri Begam;‡ and the Masjid of Shāh Vilayet, or Shāh Alā-ud-dīn, commonly known as Alawal Bilawal, close to it. Of these two buildings at Agra, the first has five domes, the second three, the middle dome in each case

\* By kind permission of Messrs. Batsford.

† Carr Stephen, "Archæology and Monumental Remains of Delhi," Plate 28. He states that of the sixteen arches round the base of this dome, only the alternate ones were originally open, and some of these have since been bricked up (p. 202).

‡ E. B. Havell, "Agra and the Taj," p. 103.

having windows round its base,\* though in the case of the Kalān Masjid some of these openings have been bricked up.

About this time we see a new type of dome appear in India—a double dome with slightly swelling outline standing on a high neck, the earliest example of which is the dome of the mausoleum of Humāyūn. Now, this type, too, has a Persian ancestry; it first appears at Samarkand in the last two buildings erected by Tīmūr—viz., the mausoleum of his wife Bibī Khānūm, and his own mausoleum, known as the Gūr Amīr. In both these buildings may be seen the earlier type of pointed dome *covered over* by an outer slightly bulbous shell, a large space being left between. As to the origin of this peculiarity, I have treated it in detail in an article, "On the Origin of the Persian Double Dome," in the *Burlington Magazine* (November and December, 1913). It must here suffice to say that from Samarkand it spread to Khurāsān, where it appears in the mosque built at Meshed in 1418 (according to Khanikoff) by Gawhar Shad, the wife of Shāh Rukh; in the mausoleum built by Sultan Husein Mirza (A.D. 1487-1506) in the Musalla at Herat; and midway between these two dates, in the Blue Mosque built at Tabriz between 1437-1468, by Jahān Shāh, the nephew of Gawhar Shad.

Humāyūn succeeded Baber in 1530, but utterly failing to consolidate the great empire left him by his father, he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Shēr Khān Sūr at Chausa in 1539, and again at Kanauj in 1540. He was ultimately driven out of Hindustan, and took refuge with Ismail, Shāh of Persia, with whom he found asylum. In the great hall of the palace of Chehel Situn at Isfahan may be seen at the present day six immense oil-paintings, and one of these shows Shāh Tahmasp entertaining Humāyūn at a banquet in 1543 (Fig. 1). The two Kings are on a dais, Humāyūn on the left in gold brocade over a crimson dress, and wearing a small reddish turban with a black

\* A. C. L. Carlile, "Agra," in Cunningham, Reports, vol. iv., pp. 170, 176.



plume; Shāh Tahmasp on the right in a red dress over cloth of gold, and wearing a white gold-barred turban, wound round a high kulah, or pointed cap. Around are disposed the singers and orchestra, the bodyguard and royal falconers with the birds perched on the wrists, while in the foreground two dancing-girls are performing. The figures are nearly life-size. The palace of Chehel Situn was burnt down and rebuilt in the reign of Shāh Sultan



FIG. 1.

Husein (A.D. 1694-1722), so this picture *may* date from this period; but Lord Curzon thinks\* that from its correspondence with the description of Chardin, there can be very little doubt that it is the identical one described by him in 1670, and may quite well have been the original painted for Shāh Tahmasp. Texier, from whose work† I

\* "Persia," vol. ii., p. 35.

† "Description de l'Arménie, la Perse, et la Mésopotamie," vol. i., Plate 73.

have taken my illustration, describes the monarch as Shāh Abbas, a mistake which Lord Curzon corrects.

The following interesting inscription—another memorial of Humāyūn's exile—exists at Turbat-i-Jām, in the shrine of Ahmad-i-Jām, the ancestor of Hamīda Begam, Humāyūn's wife, and the mother of Akbar :

“O Thou whose mercy accepts the apology of all,  
The mind of everyone is exposed to Thy majesty.  
The threshold of Thy gate is the ‘Qiblah gāh’ of all peoples,  
Thy bounty with a glance supports everyone,  
A wanderer in the desert of destitution.

*Muhammad Humāyūn,*

14th Shawāl, A.H. 951 (December 29, 1544).<sup>\*</sup>

In 1545 Shēr Shāh died, and his son, Salīm Shāh, or Sultan Islam, succeeded him, and reigned between seven and eight years; but on his death the quarrels between his relatives and friends gave Humāyūn, who in the meantime had got back to Kabul with the aid of a Persian army, the opportunity to win back the Mogul Empire at the battle of Sirhind in 1555. Humāyūn did not forget his benefactor, and in the tomb-chamber of Tahmasp's father, Shāh Ismail, in the shrine at Ardebil, is “a large box of sandal wood shaped like a coffin, inlaid with filigree ivory, which had been sent from India to Shah Tahmasp by Humeyoon Shah, as a mark of gratitude for the asylum he had once received in Persia.”<sup>†</sup> Morier,<sup>‡</sup> writing in 1816, speaks of “a golden ewer set with precious stones,” which had also been presented to the shrine by him. Humāyūn must have become almost a Persian, and it is not surprising that, surrounded by a Persian army, a Persian Court (the Governor of Delhi was a Persian, Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad, *Nishāpūri*), and no doubt Persian craftsmen, his mausoleum should have the double dome which was rapidly becoming general in Persia. The following passage in

<sup>\*</sup> Ney Elias, *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Society*, 1897, pp. 47-48.

<sup>†</sup> Lady Shiel, “Life and Manners in Persia,” p. 328.

<sup>‡</sup> “A Second Journey through Persia,” p. 254.

the Humāyūn-Nāma\* is interesting for our purpose : " In Khurāsān his Majesty visited all the gardens, and the flower-gardens, and the splendid buildings put up by Sultān Husain Mīrzā, and the grand structures of ancient days." He must, therefore, have seen two of the double domes mentioned above.

Humāyūn died on the 11th of Rab'ī I., A.H. 963 (January 21, 1556), at Dīn Panāh, and was buried where his mausoleum now stands. Hājī Begam, his wife (and the mother of Akbar), laid the foundation of this building (Plate C), which was completed in A.H. 973 (1565) at a cost of fifteen lacs of rupees, the best part of which expenditure must have been borne by the Emperor Akbar himself.† The dome, which is of brick with an outer casing of marble, instead of rising vertically from the drum, is corbelled out so as to overhang it slightly, exactly like the dome of the Bibi Khānūm at Samarkand,‡ and later domes in Persia. Its very slightly swelling outline is also typical of sixteenth-century Persian domes. It is topped with a copper pinnacle, which stands 140 feet from the level of the terrace. The drum on which it stands is 25 feet high, and is decorated with what Carr Stephen (p. 207) calls "the double triangle of the Masonic Order of the Royal Arch, having black stone medallions in the centre," but which from the photograph he gives is obviously the interlacing star pattern so frequently met with all over the Muhammadan East, one of the finest motifs ever devised for surface decoration, and of which the earliest dated example known to me is the mausoleum of Yusuf ibn Kutaijir, built in 1162 at Nakhchevan,§ where it is found already fully developed. The inside of the dome was, at one time enriched with gilding and enamel, and from its centre was once suspended a tassel of gold lace.||

\* Translated by A. S. Beveridge, p. 169.

† Carr Stephen, *ibid.*, pp. 202-03.

‡ Sarre, *ibid.*, Plate 116.

§ Sarre, *ibid.*, Plate 1.

|| Carr Stephen, *ibid.*, p. 206.

Shortly after the completion of Humāyūn's tomb, was built the mausoleum of Shams-ud-din Muhammad, surnamed Atgah Khān, who received the title of 'Azam Khān from Akbar on the occasion of his victory over Bairām Khān, near Jullunder. He was assassinated by Adham Khān in A.H. 969 (1561) in the state hall of the palace at Agra. His body was removed to Delhi, and buried in the village of Nizām-ud-dīn. In A.H. 974 (1566) a tomb (Plate D) was built over his remains by his second son, Mīrzā Azīz Kukaltāsh Khān; it is dated by the following inscription on marble over the door of the tomb: "This noble edifice was finished in the year A.H. 974 under the superintendence of Ustād Ahmad Qulī."\*

Here, again, we find the Persian double dome; the inner one is 30 feet above the floor, whereas the top of the outer one is 54 feet, a space of 24 feet being left between. It is corbelled out from the drum, which is 6 feet high, and built of marble inlaid with red sandstone, the pattern being, as before, the familiar interlacing star motif. Carr Stephen, writing about 1876, says, "The pinnacle of the dome was destroyed by a storm not long ago" (p. 118).

Outside the eastern wall of the mausoleum of Humāyūn stands a tomb which Carr Stephen attributes to Miyān Fahīm, the faithful attendant at Khān Khānān. Before Mahābāt Khān imprisoned Khān Khānān, he tried to buy over Fahīm, who, however, would not betray his master, but fell fighting in his cause. Khān Khānān commemorated the memory of his attendant by building a tomb over his remains in A.H. 1034 (1624). According to Carr Stephen (p. 213), its dome is of the same type as those just described; it is still entirely covered with encaustic plaster of a deep blue colour. The building itself is 62 feet in diameter, and 70 feet high from the floor of the platform to the top of the dome, exclusive of a red stone pinnacle of 6 feet.

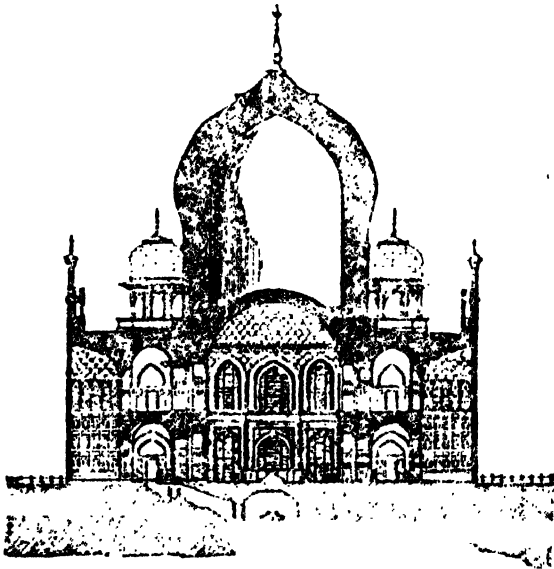
\* Carr Stephen, *ibid.*, p. 117.

This Khān Khānān was the son of Humāyūn's general, Bairān Khān, mentioned above. He stood high in Akbar's favour, and held high commands under him, conquering Sind and retaining the Deccan; but under Jahāngīr he fell into disgrace, and died at Delhi, A.H. 1036 (1626). His tomb is not far from that of Fahīm. During the premiership of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Asaf-ud-daulah, it was robbed of nearly all its marble, the facing being stripped from the dome and walls. Before this event it must have been an extremely fine building (Plate E). The dome is double, and is corbelled out at the springing, and, like those just described, it is slightly bulbous, only of rather fuller outline—a tendency which was manifesting itself in Persian domes at this time, as may be seen in the domes built by Shāh 'Abbās and his successors. I shall refer to this building again.

Six years later, in 1632, was commenced the world-famous Tāj Mahall (Plate F). A Persian, Ustād Īsā, was supervising architect, and the dome specialist was named Ismail Khān, *Rūmi*, which probably means that he came from Asia Minor. It took twenty-two years to build, being completed in 1654. The dome is built entirely of marble; like those last described, it rests on a high neck, and it is slightly corbelled out at the springing. It is double, as shown in the section here given (Fig. 2), and its only novel feature is the inverted lotus finial—a feature which from this moment came into general use, and which is found in all the domes I shall describe below. I will now revert to the mausoleum of Khān Khānān. This mausoleum, which has been ignored in this connection by every writer on the subject, appears to me to have been the real model on which the Tāj was based. It resembles the Tāj much more closely than does the mausoleum of Humāyūn, its whole framework being more drawn together, while its dome is practically identical in shape. The kiosks at the corners, too, as also the doorways, which are flush with the façade instead of being recessed, bear this out. Before

this mausoleum was stripped of its marble, the resemblance must have been startling.

It were folly to suggest that a style can invade a country, and remain a thing apart from locality and race ; not only are the pinnacles of the domes of many early Indian mosques and tombs borrowed from Hindu architecture, but the same influence is responsible for the inverted lotus which caps the dome of the Tāj ; yet lest I should be thought guilty of such bias, I will hasten to add that I recognize another feature also as a local development.



Section of Tāj Mahall, Agra. Scale 110 ft. to 1 in.

FIG. 2.

This feature is the arrangement of plan, which in Humā-yūn's mausoleum, in that of Khān Khānān, and in the Tāj (Fig. 3), consists of four smaller chambers grouped around a larger central one. Whether this arrangement, as suggested by Mr. Havell,\* has any connection, even distant, with what he calls "the Panch Ratna" arrangement, as exemplified in one of the small shrines of Chādnī Sēwa at Prambanam, I am not prepared to offer an opinion ; but I think I am safe in saying that it is not found elsewhere in

\* "Indian Architecture," pp. 22-23.

Islam. Nor do I think, simple though it is, that it is an arrangement likely to arise spontaneously in the mind of an architect anxious to develop the simple single-chamber

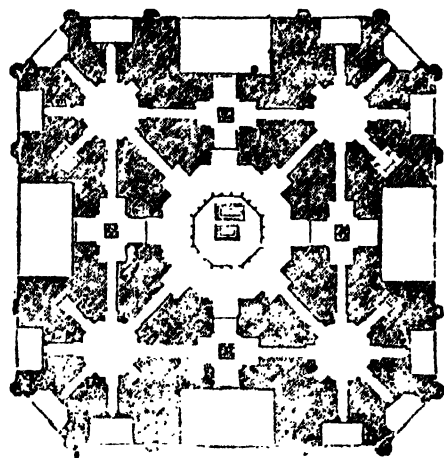


FIG. 3.

plan. Throughout the East it would appear that the natural development from the single octagonal-domed chamber was the addition of an ambulatory, also octagonal in outline.

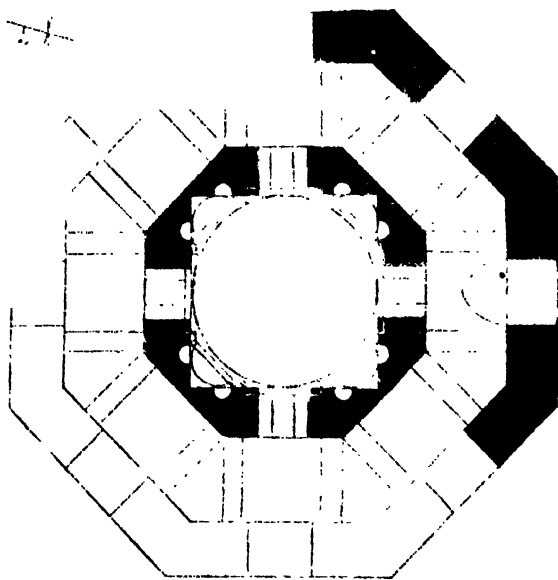


FIG. 4.

This type, which occurs as early as the sixth century in the church of St. George at Ezra,\* is found also in

\* M. de Vogüé, "Syrie Centrale," Plate XXI.

the Dome of the Rock (Kubbet es Sakhra) at Jerusalem\* (690-707), in the Kubbet es Šlebiyeh at Sāmarrā (Fig. 4), which Professor E. Herzfeld believes to be the mausoleum of Muntašir, Mu'tass, and Muhtadī† (ninth century); and nearer to our subject in a tomb at Khairpur,‡ in the tomb of Ala-ud-Dīn Ālam at Tejara (Fig. 5), and the in mausoleums of Shēr Shāh and Islām Shāh at Sahsarām. I therefore say with considerable confidence that the five-chambered plan was certainly a feature evolved in India, and, further, that it remained confined to India.

As for the *raison d'être* of the octagonal dome-chamber

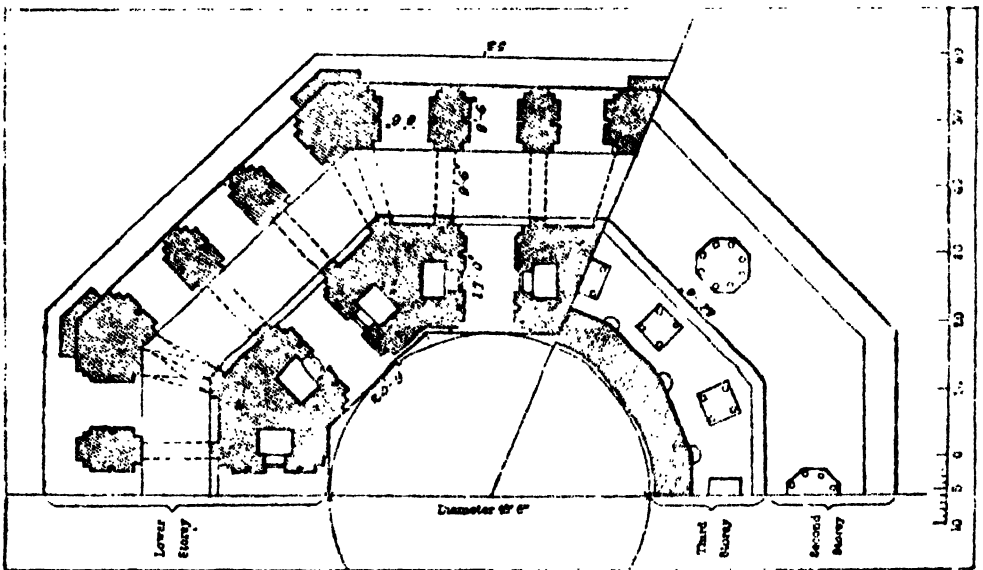


FIG. 5.

itself, I consider it to be chiefly the fact that by it the problem of the pendentive—the great problem in the evolution of domical construction—was avoided, the octagon being such a close approximation to a circle that the setting of a dome upon it offers no difficulty. In Persia, where a satisfactory pendentive was known at least as early as A.D. 240,§ octagonal dome-chambers are unusual, one of

\* M. de Vogüé, "Le Temple de Jerusalem," Plate XVIII.

† "Erster vorläufiger bericht über die ausgrabungen von Samarra."

‡ Fergusson, "Indian Architecture," vol. ii., Fig. 379.

§ Journ. Roy. Asiatic Society, 1914, pp. 682-683.



the few instances being the mausoleum of Khudabunda at Sultānīeh, where the size of the dome—84 feet—may well have made the architect doubtful of his powers, and anxious to avoid the use of a pendentive. In India, where a satisfactory pendentive was of late introduction, and where horizontal brackets, advancing one over the other, usually did duty instead for some centuries after the Muhammadan conquest, octagonal dome-chambers are naturally a constant feature.

The tendency to fulness of outline noticeable in the Tāj may also be observed in the Jama Masjid at Delhi, built 1648-1650. The three domes of this mosque are of white marble divided into vertical sections (or "lunes," to use the mathematical term) by inlays of black marble, and they stand on necks of red sandstone. This tendency to fulness of outline becomes still more pronounced by the commencement of the eighteenth century. In A.D. 1710 Zinath-ul-nisa Begam, the daughter of Aurangzib, built the Zinath-ul-Masājid, which, next to the Jama Masjid, is the most important building of its kind in modern Delhi. Like the latter, it has three domes; and like it also, these domes are of white marble, striped with vertical inlays of black marble. The central dome is the largest, and stands on a white marble neck 8 feet high, the two side ones on necks 6 feet high, but their bulbous shape is very pronounced. Their inverted lotus finials are topped with copper-gilt pinnacles. As to the date of this building, the tomb bears the date A.H. 1128 (1710), but Zinath-ul-nisa Begam did not die till about 1720. It could hardly have been built in 1700, as stated by Carr Stephen (p. 261) and Fanshawe (p. 68), as the Begam was in the Deccan in her father's camp until his death, and only returned to Delhi in the second half of 1707.\*

In 1721 the Sonahri Masjid was built by Roshan-ud-daulah in the Chadni Chauk. This is the mosque in which Nadir Shāh sat during the massacre of the people of Delhi

\* See William Irvine in the *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Society*, 1903, p. 388.

in 1737. It has three domes of gilt copper. This feature in Persia is confined to the domes of sacred shrines, such as Meshed and Kum, but in India it occurs in several instances in the domes of late mosques. I have reason to believe that it was first employed in Persia towards the second half of the seventeenth century, or about fifty years earlier than the date of this mosque, which is the earliest instance of it in India. The domes are divided into sections by bold ribs, a feature found also in the domes of the Moti Masjid of Lal Qilah built by Aurangzīb, A.H. 1070, (1659).

There is a second Sonahri Masjid in the Faiz Bazaar built by Roshan-ud-daulah, A.H. 1158, according to Carr Stephen, but the chronogram as given by the Asār-us-sanādīd of Sayid Ahmed yields 1148 and not 1158. It reads: *Masjide chūn bait-i-aqasi muhīl i-nūrullah—i.e.*, A.H. 1148 (1736).<sup>\*</sup> The domes of this mosque were originally covered with copper-gilt casings, but they were used for the repair of the domes of the mosque in the Chadni Chauk, mentioned above.

There is yet another mosque in Delhi which had a gilt dome—the Sonahri Masjid, near Lal Qilah, built by Jāvad Khān in 1751. Its bulbous domes stood on cylinders 3 feet in height, but when repaired by Bahādur Shāh in 1852, the gilt casing was removed, and the domes were covered with sandstone, striped vertically with redstone, and crowned with gilt pinnacles.<sup>†</sup>

The last dome I shall refer to is that of the mausoleum of Safdar Jung, Nawab Wasīr of Oudh. He was a Persian by birth, and came to India at the request of his uncle, who was Viceroy of Oudh, and he rose to power when order had been restored after the departure of Nadir Shāh. He died in 1753, and was buried in his mausoleum near the Kutb Minār. In arrangement of plan it is similar to that of Humāyūn and the Taj Mahall. The central dome

<sup>\*</sup> See William Irvine in the *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Society*, 1903, p. 388.

<sup>†</sup> Carr Stephen, *ibid.*, p. 277.

is triple, the two inner ones of brick and flattish, the outer one bulbous and of marble.\*

In Persia, the date of late double domes can be roughly estimated by their degree of swelling. I think it is evident that this is the case in India also, except that the bulbous shape never takes such an extreme form there as it does in Shirāz.

The question arises : What led to the popularity of the double dome ? Speaking of the wooden dome of the Great Mosque at Damascus (which I consider to have been the prototype of the Persian double dome), Ibn Jubair (1184) remarks, and his statement is repeated by Ibn Batutah (1326): "From whatever quarter you approach the city you see this dome, high above all else, as though suspended in the air."† It was probably for the sake of its external effect that this form was devised, and came to be adopted elsewhere.

\* J. D. Beglar, "Delhi," in Cunningham, Reports, vol. iv., p. 67.

† G. Le Strange, "Palestine under the Moslems," p. 244.

## THE INDIAN MYTH OF "CHURNING THE OCEAN" INTERPRETED: A NEW CHAPTER IN ARYAN PRE-HISTORY

BY L. A. WADDELL, C.B., C.I.E., LL.D.,<sup>1</sup>

THE ancient Indian myth of the "Churning of the Ocean" by the Gods in order to obtain the Elixir of Life and Immortality, forms a striking episode in both of the great Indian epics and in later Brahmanist literature as well, but is generally regarded as the mere fanciful and arbitrary product of the grotesque imagination of Brahmanical bards, and wanting in any obvious meaning. No one appears even to have seriously regarded it as of possible cosmic significance, except Kuhn and Senart; the former seeing in the products of the churning merely different manifestations of cosmic fire or lightning, and the latter "the synonymy of the gem and the trident."

Now, however, on re-examining this classic myth, I have discovered that it is of *far-reaching ethnic and historical importance, and that it discloses an important new chapter in proto-Aryan history*. It is obviously *a vestige of the prehistoric Aryan period, preserving an archaic philosophic view of the Creation of the Universe from Chaos*, and it clearly dates back to the proto-Aryan period—that is to say, before the dispersion not only of the Indian from the Aryan, but before the emergence of the European branch of the Aryan race. For the products of the churning are found in the identical

order and form, also in the mythology of Greece and Rome. Its elements, indeed, are now seen to form *the foundation of all the chief forms of Aryan religious myth, European, Persian, and Indian.*

But the greatest significance of this discovery is that *it brings the proto-Aryan civilization into direct contact with the source of the earliest culture of the world,\** as the elements in question are clearly traceable to Babylonian cosmogony, after it had been given an astrological basis. Its fresh light also enables us to co-ordinate and explain many important points hitherto irreconcilable in the mythology of the three great branches of our Aryan race --the Armeno-Iranian, Indian, and the early Greco-European.

The metaphor of "churning" appears to me to be manifestly the outcome of an attempt by a primitive people in the pastoral stage of society to explain the evolution of the solid bodies of organic Nature from the amorphous fluid of the Primeval Waters, by the homely mechanical means best known to the people for extracting solids from a liquid.

#### PRE-VEDIC ORIGIN OF THE CHURNING MYTH

The churning episode is frankly an event of the pre-Vedic and pre-Brahmanical period, because it is performed through the agency of the *Asuras* (the *Uranidae* of the Greeks) - that is to say, the proto-Aryan gods, of whom *Ahura Mazda* (*Varuṇa*, the Greek *Uranos*) was chief. It therefore dates to a period before the separation of the Indian from the Iranian stock—*i.e.*, anterior to  $\pm$  1400-1200 B.C.

The *essential* agents in the churning are, I find, only two—namely, the primeval Serpent of the Deep, "The Infinite or Eternal One" (*Ananta* or *Iāsuki*)† on the one hand,

\* That is, if we accept the view now gaining ground that the Egyptian culture was derived from the Babylonian.

† *Vasū*="jewel"+*ka*, "head," is the usual etymology of this serpent-deity of treasure (Wilson, *Sansk. Dict.*, 184, 781); but I would suggest as a possible equation *Vas*, to abide+*ka*, water.

and the Asuras who held the head of the serpent in using the latter as the churning-rod, on the other. In all the various versions of the episode, in the epics and *Purāṇas*, none of the Brahmanical gods take any effective part whatever in the process of extracting the "Treasures" of the Deep—that is, the objects which were "created" by the churning.

The Brahmanical gods are altogether superfluous to the theme, and are confessedly powerless to extract a single treasure.\* Even the supreme Brahmanist gods *Nārāyaṇa* and *Brahmā* take no part in the actual operation. *Brahmā* (who was not certainly evolved as a god in the latest Vedic period—i.e., about 500 B.C.) merely acts as a messenger to *Nārāyaṇa*, who in turn asks the serpent *Ananta* or *Vāsuki* to do the work. Though to save the dignity of the new Brahmanist gods, whose existence at that period is a transparent anachronism, the Brahman bards made "the Asuras hold *Vāsuki* (i.e., *Ananta*) by the head and the gods by the tail, and *Ananta*, who was for *Nārāyaṇa*, at intervals raised his snake's head and suddenly lowered it."† The concluding part of this sentence reads as if the serpent *Ananta* performed the churning independently, without the aid even of the Asuras.

#### AGREEMENT WITH THE BABYLONIAN CREATION-MYTH

The conditions above noted are virtually in absolute agreement with the earliest Babylonian cosmogony of about 3000 B.C., as recorded in the famous tablets. According to this, in the beginning, before the earth appeared, there existed from eternity only the primeval waters, the spirit of which in the form of "the old serpent" or dragon of Chaos was the great solitary Monad, or First Great Cause. Though latterly the Absolute was represented as a dualism,

\* After ineffectual efforts, "the gods appeared before the boon-granting *Brahmā* seated on his seat, and said: 'Sir, we are spent; we have not strength left to churn further. Ambrosia has not yet arisen'" (*Mahābhārata* i. 1143; cf. also Roy's translation, i. 80).

† *Mahābhārata*, i. 1124-25; cf. Roy's translation, i. 80.

in which the old serpent of the waters is coeval or co-existent with the Lord-of-Heaven-to-be, *Anu* (or *Anos*, whom I identify with *Our-anos*, the *Uru-w-ana* [*i.e.*, *Varuna*] of Ur of Chaldea and of the Aryan Hittite inscription of 1400 B.C. of Boghaz-kui); and these two are the prototypes of the Iranian *Ahura-Mazda* and *Ahriman*.

The old serpent of the deep or universal mother was called by the Babylonians "*Mummu Tiamath*" (*i.e.* = Greek *Thalassa*, or "the Sea") and brought forth everything. At first she begat the god of the sky, *Anu*, directly or in two or three generations. After *Anu* came *Bel*, "the lord," and *Ea* (or *Aa*, the "god," as opposed to the "Serpent," of the Deep and the lord of Deep Wisdom); and his son was *Merodach*, who became the champion of the gods, and latterly the divine creator.

Then in the dissensions which arose between the gods and the serpent brood of dragon spirits, Merodach kills the old serpent and stretches half her body on high to form the sky, with mansions for *Anu* and the other great gods, and thereon Merodach assumed the functions of creator for the rest of the universe. He set the moon on high and arranged its mutations, and he created man "with his own blood." This pantheistic conception of the origin of man is analogous to that taught by Brahmans in their theory that man was fashioned from a part of the body of the creator (*prajāpati*) *Nārāyana-Viṣṇu*.

It is the creation of the universe from the primeval waters by The Old Serpent and by Anu through his grandson Merodach, which clearly forms the story of the Churning of the Ocean of the Hindu myth, and it is, of course, a version of the same which we find in the first chapter of Genesis, derived by the Jews from pre-Semitic Chaldea.\*

\* T. Pinches, *Religion Babylonia*, 1906, 30 f., from which the above account is mostly summarized.

## STAGE OF CREATION AT THE CHURNING

The stage of creation represented at the beginning of the churning is the second stage in the Mosaic or later Chaldean tradition—namely, where "the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters" (Gen. i. 2); and this position for the Creator is precisely and literally expressed in the new post-Vedic title which the Indian Brahmans gave to the Creator, after divesting the *Asura Varuna* of that office—namely, *Nār-āyana*, or "He who moves upon the waters." That the serpent himself (or herself) was possibly considered by the Indo-Aryans in the pre-Vedic period to be the monistic creator is suggested by that version of the churning which makes the god *Nārāyana* himself issue from the ocean with the other "treasures" as a result of the churning.\* Though this, however, may be merely a result of the later identification of the solar god *Viṣṇu*, with *Nārāyaṇa* to explain the circumstance that the Sun also issued as one of the "treasures," the one which I identify as No. 4 in the table, symbolized by the horse of the chariot of that luminary.

THE ACT OF CHURNING AND THE "OCEAN-TREASURES"  
PRODUCED

The earliest version of the churning episode in the Indian classics is presumably that found in the *Mahābhārata* (about fourth century B.C.), as it occurs there in a simpler and more coherent form than in the *Rāmāyana* version, in which the Viṣṇuite additions, of which it is one, date to "the second century B.C. and later."† The sectarian *Purāna* versions are, of course, much later and more expanded, the *Viṣṇu-P.* being later than "about A.D. 320.‡ For the following literal translation of the stanzas from the *Mahābhārata*, § detailing the emergence of these treasures

\* Lassen, *Indische Alterthum*, iv. 580.

† Cf. Macdonell, *Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, ii. 237.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ i. 1145-1149, Calcutta edition. The translation by Roy (i. 80, 81) is not sufficiently accurate to be accepted on critical points.



from the ocean in the process of churning, I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Hoernle :

"Then, from the churned ocean, the Thousand-rayed One, the Placid-souled One,  
Came forth, *Soma* [the Moon], the White-rayed One, the luminous,  
Therewith *Śrī* [the goddess of Good Fortune] arose from the cream  
[-ocean], white robed,  
Also *Surā*, the goddess, arose [and] the white steed.  
And Kaustubha, the celestial gem, arose, born of the cream,  
luminous as *Marici* [the Sun], fixed on the breast of the excellent  
*Nārāyaṇa*.  
*Śrī*, *Surā* as well, and *Soma*, and the steed fleet as thought,  
Where the *devas* were, there they went, taking the *Aditya* path.  
The *Dhanvantari*, the *deva* in bodily form came forth ;  
bearing the white vessel, in which ambrosia abideth.  
. . . At length arose the great elephant *Āirāvata*  
huge of body, with four white tusks,  
him took the Holder of the Thunderbolt [Indra]."

These mythological products, so seemingly fantastic, I shall now prove *represent the Evolution of the Universe according to what must have been the common tradition of all the great branches of the primitive Aryan race*, for it is found in all the great divisions of that race and formed the basis of all their religions.

THE "OCEAN - TREASURES" ARE IDENTICAL WITH THE  
"SEVEN TREASURES" OF THE SUPREME GOD OF THE  
UNIVERSE, THE *CHAKRA-VARTIN*.

Now, it is a notable fact, not previously noticed, that the number of these Ocean-treasures, called in the above *Mahābhārata* version the "All-Treasures" (*Sarva-ratnani*, i., 1111), is exactly seven,\* that is, the precise number of the treasures of the *Chakra-vartin* of ancient Indian legend. This numerical agreement supplied me with the first hint to the interpretation of both these series of treasures.

\* The only other object evolved at the great churning was the deadly poison *Kālakūṭa*, "blazing like a flame," and threatening to destroy creation, to prevent which calamity it was swallowed by "the great god" (*Mahādeva*), and sticking in his throat, conferred on him the epithet of *Nilakanṭha*. This cannot be considered one of the "Treasures."

The epithet of "*Chakra-vartin*," common to Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Jaina literature, is usually rendered "Lord of the Wheel, or *Chakra*." Although it is not found itself in the Vedas, "the seven treasures" which are the exclusive attributes of that personage are mentioned in the *Rig Veda* (about 1200-800 B.C.) in association with only two gods, who are henotheistically representing the supreme deity—namely, the dual *Soma-Rudra*, i.e., the Moon-Thunderstorm god, and *Agni*, or deified Fire, celestial and terrestrial—a god who in the *Rig Veda* is expressly associated with, and positively identified with, both *Soma* and *Rudra*. When the name "*Chakra-vartin*" does appear in post-Vedic literature it is as the title of a few fabulous kings, and although these kings seem nowise historical, still, strange to say, modern writers, with one exception—M. Senart—invariably regard the *Chakra-vartin* as an earthly personage.

On the contrary, I have elsewhere\* adduced decisive evidence supporting M. Senart's conclusion—a conclusion arrived at quite independently and on other lines by myself—that the *Chakra-vartin* is *never a human personage at all, but the supreme deity*, and that his seven treasures are purely cosmic in character. This view is now fully confirmed by my study of the Ocean-Treasures. These products, especially associated with both *Soma* or the Moon and Ambrosia are, I find, absolutely identical with the *Chakra-vartin's* treasures, which we have seen were also associated with the god *Soma*. These Ocean-Treasures are, in fact, the prototypes of the *Chakra-vartin's* "treasures," the origin and nature of which was hitherto unknown.†

Revealed in this way as identical expressions for the same symbolism of Creation, the two series, the "Ocean-Treasures" and "The Seven Treasures" have upon close comparison enabled me to correlate them with the Western

\* *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Berlin, July, 1914.

† M. Senart suggested that the *Chakra-vartin's* treasures were a parallel series, but not identical with the ocean series, whilst identifying them merely with "the gem and the trident."

Aryan religious myths and cosmogonies outside India, in Persia and ancient Europe.

THE "OCEAN-TREASURES" SYMBOLIZE THE EVOLUTION OF  
THE UNIVERSE FROM CHAOS, AND THE ORIGIN OF  
THE GREAT NATURE-GODS

The evolution of the universe from Chaos, which I find is symbolized in the myth of the Ocean-churning with its evolved products, I represent graphically in the diagram on the succeeding page. This clearly discloses the evolution of the great gods upon a naturalistic basis, and at the same time exhibits a genealogical tree of the gods which significantly explains many disputed and doubtful points in the evolution and inter-relations of their homologues, the great gods of ancient Greece. The obvious planetary analogue, manifestly a later adaptation, as the Sun does not head the list, and Venus and Mercury are transposed, I have placed within square brackets.

THE MOON AS PARENT OF THE SUN

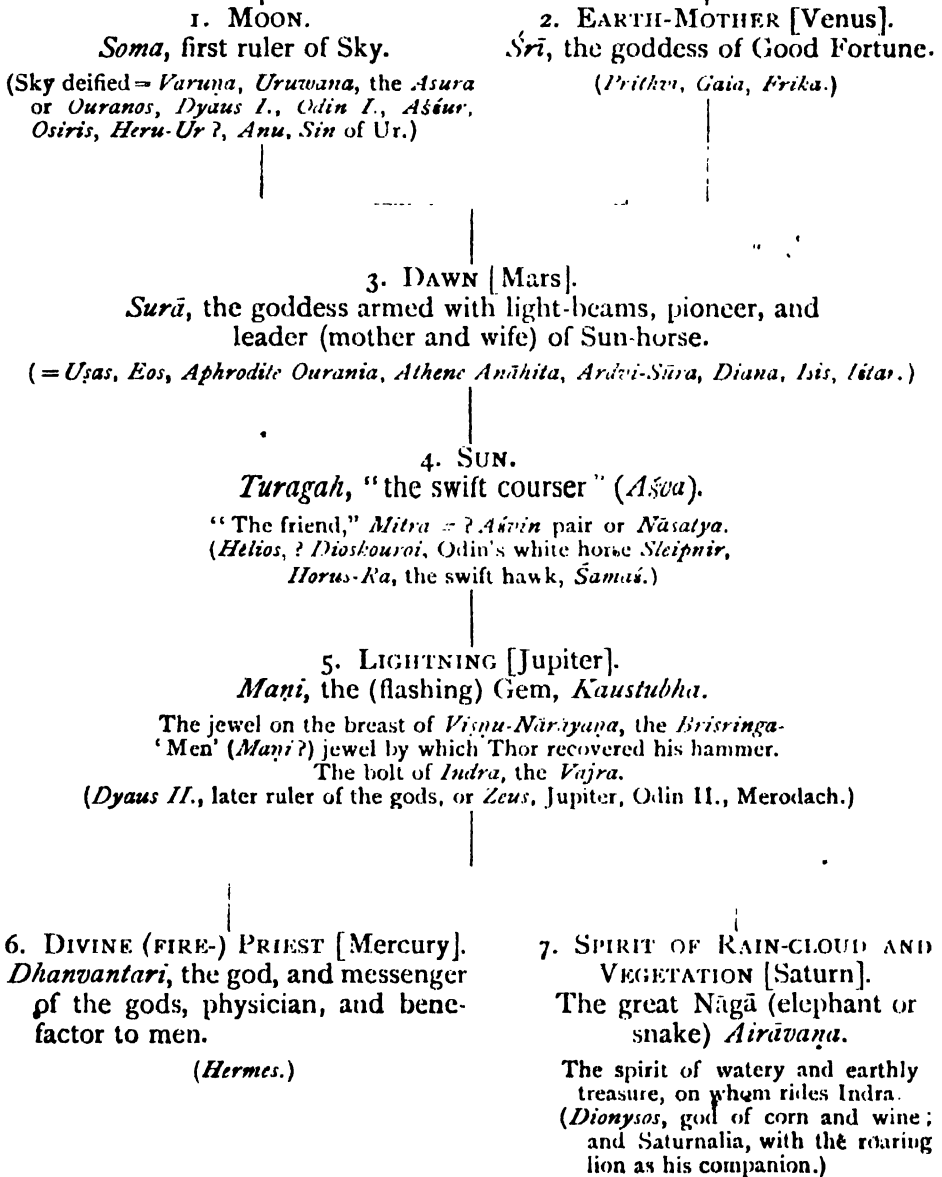
A most striking fact emerging from the diagram is that the first divine object to issue at the creation was the *Moon*, and not the Sun. This fact alone postulates for this scheme of creation an extremely remote antiquity, as the Sun was already predominant in the religion of Babylonia and Egypt before 3000 B.C., although affording distinct traces of having displaced the Moon as paramount god.

The primitive notion that the Moon was the parent of the Sun and of the other elemental gods rested on the observation that the former luminary was more intimately associated than the sun with the darkness, and thus presumably emerged from the pristine primeval darkness before the sun, and hence, according to *post hoc propter hoc* argument, it was the parent of the latter. The early belief in the paramount importance of the moon was also fostered by its ever-changing form, and periodical disappearance and

## PRIMORDIAL CREATOR.

*Ananta*, or "Eternity" (or *Vāsuki*), the primeval Serpent of the Deep.

Alone or assisted or directed by the Great *Asura* (*Ahura Mazda*, or *Varuṇa*),  
as *Nār-āyana* = "Who moves upon the Waters."  
(*Ahi-budhāya*, *Aditi*, *Tiamath*, or *Thalassa*.)



reappearance, seeming to indicate to the early philosophers that that luminary took a much more active part in the working of Nature than the unchanging sun.

Although this is a conception of much earlier age than the Vedas ( $\pm$  1200-600 B.C.), there seems no direct reference in the Rig Veda to the Moon as the parent of the Sun (he is the husband of the sun in Rig Veda 10, 85). Yet, as the word "*Soma*" carries the double sense of the "Moon" and "Ambrosia," upon which latter not only the Sun but also other gods feed, and as the *Soma*-rite is admittedly the basis of Vedic ritual and religion, it is very probable that the *Soma*-rite and its terminology is mystically founded upon the archaic belief in the Moon as the parent and nourisher of the gods. In a contemporary Vedic commentary (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 5, 10, 1, etc.), and in post-Vedic literature generally, *Soma* as the moon is positively regarded as being drunk up by the gods, and so is explained its waning until it is re-filled up by the sun.\*

This notion, therefore, that the Moon was the universal celestial nourisher seems based upon the idea that *Soma* as the Moon, if not the universal parent and creator himself, and the centre of Vedic belief and cult, as Hillebrand considers,† was at least one of the chief attributes of that parent and the foremost "Treasure" of the gods, as we find it in the products of the churning.

#### THE MOON IN RELATION TO VARUNA OR OURANOS AS CREATOR

The hypothesis that *Varuna* as the early Vedic Sky-god and creator represented primarily the Moon has been put forward by Oldenberg,‡ who argued from the assumed planetary character of the Vedic gods of light, the *Adityas*, and the assumed identity of these with the Avestan *Ameṣa-spentas*, the "angels" of *Ahura Mazda*, that is, *Varuna*.

\* Macdonell, *Vedic Myth.*, 112 f.

† *Vedische Mythologie*, 227 f.

‡ *Religion des Veda*, 1894, 285 f.

This identity, however, is not accepted by Macdonell (*Ved. Myth.*, 28) and others, on the ground that it does not account well for the actual characteristics of *Varuna* in the Rig Veda, and also requires the absolute rejection of any connection between *Varuna* and *Ouranos*. But the fresh independent testimony I now bring forward from this churning myth explains and reconciles both these objections, as will especially be seen later in comparing the *Adityas* and *Amesa-spentas* with the Ocean-treasures, with which I find them identical.

The main source of confusion, as it appears to me, has been the omission to recognize that there were two stages in the evolution of the Sky-god. In the first stage, in the Babylonian myth, as we have seen, *Anu* and *Merodach* were long in existence before they achieved the sky (see foregoing diagram). This was not attained until after the conclusion of the cosmic battle with the serpents-dragons of the waters (that is, not till after the strife which churned the ocean in the Hindu myth). With the conclusion of this great strife came the new order of things. The sky was then formed out of the substance of the great she-dragon, and the gods and luminaries obtained their positions there; and *Anu* (*i.e.*, the Moon or *Ouranos* and *Dyaus I.*, see diagram), as Sky-god, assumed his function of general creator, in succession apparently to the primordial she-dragon. This presumably seems to have been generally the same course followed by the Moon in the Indian churning episode. In the waters before it ascended to the sky the Moon bears in the Veda the title of "Son of the Waters" (*Apām-nāpat*). Eventually it became the first god of the Sky until displaced in later ages by the Sun and Lightning --*i.e.*, *Zeus* (see diagram).

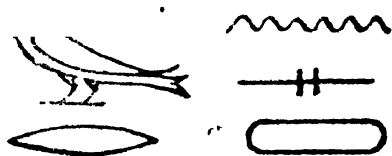
The Moon was thus manifestly considered to be the earliest ruler of the Sky and the first establisher of the new order of things; and it was perhaps the first stage in the conception of the Sky-god, *Ouranos* or *Varuna*, the "*Uru-*

*wāna* of the Hittite inscription of 1400 B.C. For it moved across not only the whole stretch of the sky, but into the darkness beyond. He was the paramount god under the name *Sin* (? Chand) at Ur in Chaldea about 3000 B.C., and I believe that the title *Uru-w-ana* may connote this fact.

Certainly, in the early Rig Veda, ± 1200 B.C., *Varuna* is god of the entire sky, and creator of the sun, moon, and the universe. He is "lord of light by day and night." But in the later Vedic period he is more especially identified with the Moon as *Soma* (Rig Veda, 9, 77, 5; 9, 95, 4; 73, 3, 9; 8, 41, 8),\* and specially connected with the nocturnal heavens. Thus *Mitra* is said to have produced the day and *Varuna* the night,† and the night is said to belong to *Varuna*.‡

In this way *Varuna*, *Uruwāna*, or *Ouranos*, became the god of the *Darkness-beyond-this-Life*; and he ruled over the paradise of the blessed, *Sukhāvatī* in the Western Ocean, where the Moon (or Sun) sinks out of sight (see my article on the "Origin of the Buddhist Cult" in this REVIEW for 1912, pp. 143, 158). In this capacity as ruler of the next world the name of *Varuna* or *Uranos* actually occurs in the ancient Egyptian inscriptions as the epithet of the second country of the "*Duat*" or Other World of the Dead, through which the sun passes at night. The

without vowels), the oblong determinative at the end of the word signifies an island.



The earliest Egyptian occurrence of the word appears to be in the tomb of Sety I., of the nineteenth dynasty, about 1300 B.C.§

Thus the disc "wheel" of the Moon (as the ancients

\* Macdonell, *Vedic Myth.*, 110.

† *Taittiriya Samhitā*, 6, 4, 8, 3.

‡ *Ibid.*, 2, 1, 7, 4; Macdonell, *Vedic Myth.*, 25.

§ For this important reference I am indebted to the kindness of Miss M. Murray. The discovery was published by Lefébvre in *Annales du Musée Guimet* (Facsimiles of the Inscriptions), and by Jéquier, *Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hades*, 51, 49.

seem to have regarded the earth and the great luminaries as discs or wheels, not orbs) appears to have become in archaic times the chief emblem of the Supreme God of this world and the world beyond, and the first of the "Treasures" of the *Chakra-vartin*, giving to that personage his title. But this "wheel" or disc (*chakra*), from which the *Chakra-vartin* derives his name, I have thus proved conclusively is the *Moon*, and not the *Sun*,<sup>1</sup> as has hitherto been universally believed by European writers. The owner of "The Seven Treasures" thus is clearly the supreme god *Varuna* or *Ouranos* himself; and I have already discovered, as reported in this REVIEW (1912, pp. 139, 143, 158), that *Varuna* actually bears in the Bharhut Sculptures of about 250 B.C. the title of "*Chakra-vāka*," or "Wheel of the Law,"\* which is, I consider, a prototype of the "*Chakra-vartin*," an aspect of the Supreme God of the Universe, in the quasi-monotheistic phase of early Brahmanism.

The supreme creative functions ascribed in the Rig Veda to *Soma* as both Moon and Ambrosia collectively are largely identical with those ascribed therein to *Varuna*, including the ethical one of dispelling sin.†

#### NĀRĀYAṆA AND VARUṆA, OR OURANOS

How *Nārāyana* was evolved by post-Vedic Brahmins from *Varuna*, the great *Asura*, I have shown in detail elsewhere.‡

In our version of the churning episode which belongs to the Viṣṇu sect of later Brahmanism, *Nārāyana*, as their supreme god, is given the place of *Varuna* as technical creator. He is made in one version to have been in existence before the churning, and therefore co-existent with the old Serpent *Ananta*, on which he is usually pictured as reclining in the midst of the primeval waters. Though in another version, as we have seen, he emerges with the

\* *Vāka* in the Rig Veda is "speech or word," and specially connotes *Rita* or "Fixed Law"—i.e., *Dharma* (cf. Grassman, R.V. Worterbuch 1248).

† Macdonell, *Vedic Myth.*, 109.

‡ My article on "Buddha's Diadem" in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Berlin, July, 1914.



other treasures, and then may be an echo of the origin of *Varuna* as the Moon, although Nārāyana, whilst absorbing *Varuna's* attributes, is represented as a form of the solar deity Viṣṇu. Brahmā and the other gods, all of post-Vedic invention, must be set aside as later intrusions and anachronisms.

#### THE OTHER SIX TREASURES "CHURNED" OR CREATED

After the emergence of the Moon, the various treasures which were "churned" or created follow one another in a definite evolutionary order (see the diagram for a graphic view).

The second treasure to emerge from the primeval waters was the goddess Śrī, a title in the later mythology, especially of the bountiful goddess of Good Fortune, and the wife of the supreme god of the Visnuites. Here she clearly represents "Kindly Mother-Earth" of the Rig Veda (10, 18, 10), that is, *Prithvī*, "The Broad Earth." She is thus literally identical with *Gaia*, "the Earth," the wife of *Ouranos*, of Greek myth, which also assigns to *Ouranos* and *Gaia* the parentage of gods and men (see diagram). She resembles Aphrodite in being ocean-born, and corresponds to the later *Venus*, and seemingly to *Frika*, the wife of Odin.

The third treasure was the goddess *Surā*, a goddess of light and heaven, in contradistinction to the Earth-goddess. She with the others of the first five treasures "took the *Aditya* path," that is, the path of the celestial luminaries. She is, I suggest, clearly the Dawn, that is, *Usas* of the Sanskrit, the *Eos* of the Greek and the *Isis* of Egypt. It is *Usas*, the Dawn, who in the Rig Veda (7, 77, 3) "*leads the beautiful white horse*," which animal is identified in the context as the sun, at once her son and lover. This is precisely and literally, her position in the churning. She comes immediately before, that is, "*leading the white steed*" which I identify with certainty as the sun. She also symbolizes the morning star as *Istar*, the *Tārā* of the Hindus.

As preceding in this way the Sun, *Usas* is termed in the Rig Veda "mother" of the sun, where the latter is known

both as *Sūrya* and *Savitri*;\* whilst on the other hand, from the sun following her, like a lover, she is also called the "wife" of the sun (4, 5, 13; 7, 75, 5). Thus Nos. 3 and 4 form a second pair like Nos. 1, and 2, according to the dualistic form of the early procreative myths. Our churning myth, indeed, in this respect seems to clear up a confusion in Rig Veda history in regard to the sun and the disputed personality of those divinities of light, the *Aśvins*. The *Aśvins* are termed "the two husbands of *Sūryā*" (4, 43, 6; 1, 1195), and the latter is interpreted as the Sun, *considered as a female*.† But our churning tradition explains this otherwise. "*Sūryā*" in this regard seems to be *not* the sun, but *Surā*, the mother or wife of the Sun, which is conceived as twin coursers, the *Aśvins* (see next paragraph).

How *Surā* comes in the Chakra-vartin's lists, to be represented by a "general" and of martial nature, is, I think, clear from the following descriptions of the Dawn goddess, *Uṣas*. In the Rig Veda she is armed with beams of light; she "drives away the darkness" (5, 80, 5-6); "wards off evil spirits" (7, 75, 1); "urges the living to motion" (4, 57, 8); "wakens the five tribes," and "shortens the ages of men" (1, 124, 2); "she reveals the paths of men" (7, 79, 1); "never infringes ordinances" (1, 92, 12); "never loses her directions" (5, 80, 4); "she renders good service to the gods" (1, 113, 9).

This martial character clearly identifies this water-born goddess with *Aphrodite Ourania*, also with *Athene* (?), and the Avestan goddess *Anāhita-Ardvi-Sūra*, who literally bears her name, and whose chariot was drawn by white horses,‡ *Diana*, and as mother of the Sun, and daughter (or wife) of *Ouranos* the *Asura*, who, I suggest, is Osiris (see No. 1 in diagram), whilst she (*Uṣas*) seems to represent Isis.

The fourth treasure to be created was "The White Swift Courser" *Turagaḥ*, which is certainly the Sun. In other versions the term used is *Aśva*, which is the ordinary word for a "horse." The positive identity of the white horse

\* Macdonell, *Vedic Myth.*, 35, 48.

† *Ibid.*, 51.

‡ *Yast*, 5, 11, 13.

with the sun in the Rig Veda has been cited above. On the other hand, the general term "swift-courser" admits of the bird-symbolism, the sun in the Rig Veda being called "the fine-winged" bird (*Suparna*), analogous to the Egyptian sun-god *Horus-Ra* as the Hawk.

This equine symbolism for the sun as the *Aśva* or "horse," in relation to *Sūra*, throws significant new light upon those perplexing pair of divinities of light, the *Aśvins* or *Nasatya*, on whose identity there is no agreement. What they actually represented puzzled even the oldest Brahmanical commentators mentioned by Yāska so long ago as about 500 B.C.\* That scholar remarked that some regarded them as Heaven and Earth, others as Day and Night, others as Sun and Moon, while the legendary writers took them to be "two kings, performers of holy acts." Yāska's own opinion, which is obscure, identifies them, thinks Roth, with *Indra* and the sun. Others regard them as the sun and moon, whilst Oldenberg and others believe they represent the morning and evening stars, which cannot, however, represent the pair, as the *Aśvins* or *Dioskuri* are eternally conjoined.†

My own opinion, based on the churning myth, approximates perhaps that of Yāska. It is that the *Aśvins* probably represent the Sun as a dual personality, as the outcome partly of the ancient symbolism of a horse (*Aśva*) for the sun, suggesting a two-horsed chariot; and partly suggested by the epithet of *Mitra* for the sun. *Mitra*, or "The Friend" (presumably the friend of man), suggests a companion. Hence in the prevalent dualism of early times the sun as "the swift courser" might readily be assumed to be a pair. One of the most frequently mentioned pair of gods in the Rig Veda is *Mitra-Varuna*, who in that combination generally represents the sun; although *Varuna* was more especially associated with the Moon, notwithstanding that "the eye of *Varuna* is the sun" (Rig Veda, 1, 50, 6). The car of the *Aśvins* is that of the sun itself (Rig Veda, 1, 115, 3).

\* Macdonell, *Vedic Myth.*, 53.

† *Ibid.*, 53.

*Savitri*, or "the vinifier" (an epithet of the sun), is in their car (1, 34, 10), and so very special and frequent mention is made of their course *Varti*, that this word, with one exception, is applicable to them only in the Rig Veda.\* This suggests to me that the word *Chakra-vartin* was probably used in post-Vedic times, when the "seven treasures" were transferred from the essentially lunar god *Varuna* to the solar *Aśvins*, with the rise of the *Viṣṇu* cult.

This "white horse" of the ocean-treasures is manifestly identical with *Odin's* white steed, "the best of horses, *Sleipnir*."†

The fifth treasure "the (flashing) *Mani* gem, shining like the sun," I identify with the Lightning, symbolic of Indra, Zeus, or Jupiter. Its interpretation as the *Mani* gem has been established by Kuhn and Senart, and I have added further confirmatory details elsewhere.‡ In this Viṣṇuite version of the churning, the gem is appropriated to *Viṣṇu-Nārāyana*, as the *Kaustubha* jewel held at his breast. This, however, is a transparent synonymy for the thunderbolt-jewel, the *vajra*, which Indra holds at his waist or navel; for *Viṣṇu* is also called *vajra-nabhi*, or "thunderbolt navelled," and it is from this jewel or *vajra* that the creative lotus-stem springs by which *Viṣṇu* in post-Vedic Brahmanism creates the Brahmanical Trinity and the Universe.

The "Teutonic" representative of this jewel is clearly, I think, the *Brīsringa-Men* (? *Mani*) jewel or necklace of *Odin's* wife, which *Thor*, the Scandinavian Jupiter, had to wear to recover his hammer (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, i., 307).

The sixth product of the creative churning was "the god *Ḍhanvantari*," holding the white cup of Ambrosia in hand. He is the mythical physician to the gods, and the divine messenger to man. He is, I consider, the divine Fire-priest, the homologue of *Hermes* or *Mercury*.

\* Macdonell, *Vedic Myth.*, 50.

† Grimm, *Teutonic Myth.*, i. 154.

‡ My article, "Buddha's Diadem," *loc. cit.*

The seventh and last "treasure" was the great Nāga *Airovana*," who was "taken by the Holder of the Thunderbolt." This is, of course, the famous white elephant on which Indra rides, symbolizing the thunder-cloud of that god. It represents for me the Spirit of Seasonable Rain and Vegetation, beneficial to man. This spirit of the huge elephantine bull of the sky, or rather the lower atmosphere, appears to represent the bull of the Assyrian *Assur* and of the Babylonian *Merodach*, and, on the other hand, by its bountiful bestowal of earthly and watery treasure, *Saturn* and *Dionysos*, god of corn and wine and saturnalia, with the roaring lion as his companion.

#### CONCLUSIONS

These are some of the more important outstanding results that are yielded by the discovery of this new source of light upon the pre-history and origins of the Aryan civilization.

The many new points of contact which are now revealed between the primitive traditions and beliefs of the various widely separated branches of the archaic Aryan stock, Asiatic and European, enable us to reconstruct to a greater extent than before the original proto-Aryan scheme of creation. We thus obtain a primitive Aryan view of the evolution of the universe and of the great gods upon a naturalistic basis long before the rise of Greece and one or two millenniums before the commencement of the Vedic period:

But most important of all, in linking up into unity the scattered elements of archaic Aryan tradition, and explaining many points in Grecian, Iranian, and Indian mythology hitherto deemed irreconcilable, our discovery brings the Aryan Creation-Myth, and with it the beginnings of our civilization, directly back to Babylon itself.

## RUSSIA IN WAR TIME\*

BY E. H. PARKER

By a curious coincidence I happened to be present in Russia at several critical and significant moments during the early development of the Russo-German War. Leaving Petrograd on Friday, July 24, I was astonished on arrival at Reval about daylight on Saturday to observe about forty Russian men-of-war in port, four having the appearance of Dreadnoughts, the rest cruisers, torpedo-boats, torpedo-destroyers, and (of this I am not sure) submarines; but all without exception equipped with wireless apparatus. Leaving in the afternoon, I was once more surprised to see eight or nine large Russian men-of-war steam into Reval as we steamed out. I presume this was the squadron that intended to visit Copenhagen to salute M. Poincaré, but which had been hastily recalled. On Monday the 27th I happened to get into conversation at Riga with a young Russian sergeant attached to the Governor's establishment. He informed me that it was doubtful if he could accept my invitation to dine at the Hagensberg Park that evening, as he had been suddenly mobilized, and might have to leave that very night for some unknown destination. There was already a good deal of talk in the town about the Austro-Servian complication, but it was not until we arrived at Pskov on the 30th that I noticed the unusual sight of soldiers selling their clothes in the market-place; one particular shirt went for tenpence, and a very serviceable frieze top-coat for four shillings. Inquiry elicited the fact that mobilization had begun, and these extra garments

\* Written on August 6, 1914.

would not be available as part of the kit allowed. The next day at Staraya Russa (a fashionable spa) the landlady seemed intensely interested in "the war," and I found (as I had already found at Pskov) that it was extremely difficult to purchase a Petrograd newspaper on the arrival of the metropolitan evening train. Here, also, soldiers were selling off "jumble lots," and a number of women in groups were observed to be crooning and weeping. Again the next day at Novgorod weeping women were the chief feature in the streets. No howling, "keening," or complaining, but simply silent wiping of the eyes and eager comparing of family notes. The soldiers and "called-up" classes of young men themselves seemed cheerful enough at the prospect of fighting; they were lying about the great St. Sophia Square, near the local Kremlin, where a number of officers were making hasty purchases of remounts from the villagers: an old woman told me she had sold four horses and sent two sons to the war. The noticeable feature in all these young men, whether uniformed or newly called up, was their extremely good physique and excellent teeth.

It must not be thought that there was anything venture-some in our wandering off to these comparatively unheard-of places: few tourists of any nationality ever dream of going there, unless it be for a practical cure, to the salt and mud baths of Staraya Russa. People at home will be surprised to know that you can sail from Dorpat to Pskov in a comfortable steamer. From Staraya Russa to Novgorod (though only a small steamer carries you for a couple of hours to the mouth of Lake Ilmen) the 1,500 ton steamer that takes you onwards across the lake to Novgorod is downright luxurious, with high-class cooking, besides being absurdly cheap. At one point you are "out of sight of land," and the weather and water can be pretty rough. From Novgorod we took a second steamer to Volkhovo, a junction on the River Volkhov where the Moscow train discharges and picks up Staraya Russa passengers from and

for Petrograd. Even these out-of-the-way steamers were overcrowded with mobilized officers and soldiers. Our programme was to take the Moscow train at 6.30 and arrive by 10.30 in Petrograd on Saturday. A young Belgian in Russian employ had tried to take a through ticket at Novgorod, but had been informed that, owing to the general mobilization, only one direct train from Moscow was running that day, no tickets were being issued, and that he had better go to Volkhovo by boat; this Belgian had also been mobilized, but in his case by telegram from his own country, to assist in repelling the expected German invasion. Imagine his and our horror when we found no Moscow train would arrive until 2.30 a.m., and that we should have to kick our heels for eight hours in the station (where, however, there was a fair waiting-room and buffet) or in the village. Small though the place was, here we first found what a deep impression the "German" war (no one spoke of Austria) had made upon the people. A kind of *djehad* was being preached in the streets; processions were formed and hymns sung by a bareheaded crowd of men and women carrying the Czar's portrait.

The train was already more than full of sleeping passengers when it arrived, but we made a wild rush for the first open door and just succeeded in wedging ourselves in, but only to stand or squat on the ground the whole way to Petrograd. One passenger committed suicide, his mind having perhaps become unhinged with excitement: women with babies, rich and poor, suffered severely. At Petrograd on Sunday the excitement was found to be intense, and the police seem to have come to the conclusion (the strikes being only just over) that it would be better to "nourish" than suppress a wave of enthusiasm so profitable to the Czar. In the afternoon the Czar suddenly arrived (from his retirement at Peterhof) at the Winter Palace; the yellow Imperial flag was hoisted, a salute of thirty-one guns was fired, the Czar made a speech to the vast crowd below from the balcony, and all the Imperial family in



Petrograd, besides all the highest civil, military, naval, and ecclesiastical chiefs, were convened to a solemn religious service held in the Nicholas Hall, when prayers were offered up for the victory of the Russian army. Among those present were the French Ambassador and the Servian Minister: probably at no time in his reign has the Czar been more popular than he was then and is now. Many of the processions, in addition to the Czar's portrait and the Russian flag, contained numerous banners marked "Long live Serbia!" "God save Slavdom!" etc., and in some cases France and England came in for complimentary legend inscribed upon banners. All over the metropolis there were evidences of active mobilization, such as droves of men answering to the call, limbering-up of guns, buying and allotting remounts, etc.; but all this was done with perfect decorum, quietness, and order. Never in Russian history has there been a more popular war, never has a foreign nation been so hated and despised by them as the Germans are now. It is the opinion of many responsible Russians that the recent strikes at the Putiloff works were really organized with German money, the idea being to create bad feeling just when President Poincaré arrived. It will be remembered that the French quite recently objected to German financial co-operation in these works. As a matter of fact we had witnessed the President's arrival in the morning of the 21st, and also his visit to the City Duma—i.e., the "Mansion House"—in the evening. The Czar did not appear in the streets that day, and there was very little street enthusiasm, for that very evening the tram-men had struck in sympathy with the Putiloff ironworkers, and doubtless this fact had some cooling effect upon popular and political enthusiasm—that was on July 31. On Monday, August 3, the patriotic processions went on, but the first wave of pious enthusiasm seemed to be gradually passing, and there were some signs of noisiness. Tuesday was, however, the Czar's name-day, and the chief streets were gaily decorated. As usual on such holidays, the banks were

closed all day, and those shops that opened at all did not do so till one o'clock. Meanwhile news arrived of the cowardly and insolent treatment by an ungenerous mob of the Russian Ambassador and his ladies as they left Berlin. This seems to have irritated the Petrograd patriots, who began during the evening to make "manifestations," smashing the windows of various German houses of business, and so on. But that was not all : towards ten o'clock on Tuesday evening a noisy procession began to throw stones at the German Embassy windows. This Embassy is a striking but vulgar and showy building next to the Italian Embassy in St. Isaac's Square ; already when it was being built a few years ago people of taste were displeased at the self-assertive and tactless idea of placing a bronze copy of some apparently Greek sculpture on the roof in the shape of two huge horses tended by two naked warriors. It was felt that such a prominent and garish outline on the skyline, set cheek by jowl with the sacred Cathedral, was a grievous error in taste ; yet at the time the Russian Government or municipality seems to have refrained from expostulation. Anyhow, the passions of the crowd were now roused by specific events, and I saw the wrecking. The Cathedral Square is a vast space capable of containing 100,000 spectators ; mounted soldiers kept the manifestants back from actual contact with the Embassy, but the cobbles with which Petrograd streets are paved (coupled with the fact that several neighbouring streets were "up") afforded excellent opportunity to the crowd to fill their pockets and "shy" over the soldiers' heads. The soldiers luckily did not see fit to ride the crowd back ; this was fortunate, for behind the actual stone-throwers were hundreds of curious spectators, including many forced guests marooned in the Grand, Astoria, Angleterre, and other neighbouring hotels, who would have been crushed and injured had the manifestants been forced back upon them. By eleven o'clock every one of the hundred or more of windows (say twelve hundred panes) had been smashed to atoms. Later on the crowd

gained entrance by a side-door, swarmed in, and began to pitch the furniture into the streets. The house was completely gutted, not a window-frame remained serviceable, not a scrap of furniture unbroken. The two Greek heroes, weighing many hundredweight apiece—probably several tons—were carried down by a host of willing bearers and pitched into the neighbouring Moika Canal. Throughout Wednesday amused crowds gathered to witness the sorry spectacle. To-day (Thursday) Prince Obolensky has posted notices stating that the processions, which had been allowed from July 26 onwards on the ground of their patriotic and orderly sentiment, must now be entirely discontinued. All the German Embassy windows have been boarded up, and the two horses, deprived by the mob of their naked Jehus, were now an object of both curiosity and derision, and at the urgent request of the "crowd" were quickly removed from the roof-parapet by the police and consigned to the Embassy courtyard.

Curiously enough, though Germany had been at war with Russia for nearly a week, the Austrian Embassy was working as usual, war not having been declared until 6.15 p.m. to-day. I visited it yesterday, and found the usual notices up in German, Hungarian, and Russian, stating that business hours were from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. This Embassy lies back at some distance from all the others—the Turkish, British, Japanese, and French, are all in line on the Neva—in a comparatively secluded residential street; the only Embassy quite near to it is the American, an unpretentious building in a still remoter street. However, the precincts of the Austrian Embassy were strongly picketed with first-class mounted troops, and these pickets had been doubled when I went to see the place again to-day at 9 p.m. The Ambassador was packing, but had not yet gone; there seems to be no popular feeling whatever against Austria, who is quietly but universally assumed to be the puppet of Germany in this business. Count Pourtales, on the other hand, seems to have displayed considerable *gaucherie* in the way

he delivered his *note verbale*; one of his colleagues says he was overcome with very undiplomatic excitement and astonishment when called upon at midnight to proceed to M. Sazonoff's. The latter, after the expiry of twelve hours, "had no communication to make," in spite of the Count's solemnly reading out the note three successive times. Meanwhile the German Consul-General came rushing round in a fearful flurry to one of the subordinate officials attached to the American Embassy, in order to make immediate arrangements for his archives. Since then all signs of Germans seem to have disappeared from the capital. Even Russian Germans seem disgusted with the race to which, in a way, they belong. A remarkable fact was that one of the Englishmen doing subordinate Embassy work for the Americans was twice haled before the secret police because he was suspected of being a German (of much the same name) who was "wanted" for something he had done at Copenhagen and Archangel.

## QUATRAINS\* OF "OMAR KHAYYĀM"

(LINE FOR LINE TRANSLATIONS)

BY J. POLLEN, C.I.E.

KHAYYĀM ! for sin why sorrow so ?

What profits great or little woe ?

Who sins not cannot mercy know :

For sin came Mercy here below.

In Schools, in Church, in Cloister, Cell,

Some seek for Heaven, some fly from Hell ;

But who, in soul, God's secret knows

Such seed within his heart ne'er sows.

The Spring—a Fairy Form—and Wine—

If these on meadow's slope be mine ;

Though every one the thing should blame,

Better a dog, if Heaven I'd name.

Parted from life, as well you know,

Behind God's veil you need'st must go.

Be glad, your " whence " you never knew,

Your " whither " 's also hid from you.

\* Sonnet-like, each one of these quatrains (attributed to Omar Khayyām) is complete in itself, and has not necessarily any connection with its fellow. The quatrains may be described as refined Limericks, their common mystical motive being "praise of Love and Wine." They have been composed, so as to speak, "mosaically"; but the little pieces have never been fitted together into one whole, except by the original genius of Fitzgerald. How many of them were written by Omar Khayyām himself is a matter of doubt ; but they came into being about his time. The translations follow the original Persian as closely as possible, and each line is translated as it stands.—J. POLLEN.

I slept. Said Wisdom, from the gloom,  
 "In sleep Joy's rose can never bloom ;"  
 "Why woo Death's sister thus ?" said he,  
 "Drink wine ! you'll sleep eternally !"

"I pant for Wisdom," said my heart.  
 "This, an Thou can'st, to me impart !"  
 "Alif," I said. Cried heart, "No more  
 If One 's at home—one word opes door."

No man may pass behind the veil  
 Nor of its secrets tell the tale—  
 In Earth's dull dust alone is rest,  
 Drink wine ! here silence suiteth best !

To churls no mysteries reveal !  
 From fools your secrets aye conceal !  
 Your acts towards men consider well,  
 Your hopes to no man ever tell !

'Twas writ "Whatever will be, will ;"  
 The Pen moves on, come good or ill ;  
 From first 'twas fixed—Creation's plan ;—  
 To grieve or strive becomes not man.

In Spring to field or river's brim  
 With comrades true, with maiden slim—  
 Bring forth the cup ! Let morning's draught  
 Free from the Mosque or Church be quaffed !

My girdle here is Heaven's bright blue—  
 Thur's bed my tears have fretted through ;  
 My bootless griefs have proved a Hell :—  
 At peace—in Paradise I dwell !

To Houris Eden's bower is dear,  
 Dearer to me the grape-juice clear ;  
 Then take the cash ! let credit go !  
 The drum—far off—sounds soft and low.

Drink wine, to sleep beneath the dust,  
From Wife and Friend depart you must ;  
To none this mystery explain—  
"No Tulip withered blooms again."

Drink wine ! In it's eternal life !  
This points the term of youthful strife ;  
To sport with friends, with rosy wine,  
Means, once for all, a life divine.

Give Wine, it salves my wounded heart,  
'Tis boon companion in Love's Mart ;  
To me the dregs are dearer far  
Than Heaven's high vault and shining star.

I drink ; my foes, on all sides, cry,  
"Wine is the foe of God most high ;"  
When this I heard, " 'Tis right," I said,  
'To drink the blood of foemen dread."

A ruby—Wine ! The Cup—the Vine !  
The Cup—the Body ; Soul—the Wine !  
The crystal Cup laughs bubbling o'er  
Like tear that hides the bosom's gore.

My Form who gave—I cannot tell  
If he assigned me Heaven or Hell ;  
But food, and Wine, and loved one here  
Are cash to me,—Heaven's credit there.

Both Good and Bad in Nature mixed  
With Joy and Grief, by Fate are fixed ;  
Blame not the Heavens ! In Wisdom's way  
More helpless far than you are they.

Whose heart bears trace of Love's sweet strife,  
He never lost a day of life ;  
Either he strives God's grace to gain—  
Or quaffs the Wine-cup—free from pain.

Where blooms the rose or tulip-bed,  
There crimson blood of Kings was shed ;  
The violet springing from the Earth—  
Some Mole of Beauty gave it birth,

Be wise !—for means of Life abate—  
Take heed ! for sharp the sword of Fate ;  
Tho' Fortune bring you almonds sweet,  
Taste not, for in them poisons meet.

Wine—lover's lips—and meadow's slope—  
Robbed me of Bliss and you of Hope ;  
To Heaven or Hell man's doomed, but tell,—  
Who came from Heaven or went to Hell ?

Oh, thou ! with cheek wild-rose in hue—  
In face a Chinese Goddess true ;  
Yestre'en to Babel's King thy glance  
Did give the Chess-board's game of chance.

What's Balkh to me ? or what Baghdad ?  
Life passes—be wine good or bad ;  
Then drink ! for, when we've passed away,  
The Moon will change from day to day.



## SUPPLEMENT

### OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

TEN THOUSAND MILES WITH A DOG SLED. By Hudson Stuck. (London : *Werner, Laurie, Ltd.*) 420 pp., 8vo. Map and illustrations half-tone and colour. Price 10s. 6d. net.

The writer is the Archdeacon of the Yukon, and the book gives a rapid sketch of nearly fifteen thousand miles of travel covered on dog sleds as clerical tours of inspection in Alaska. The work is fairly free from references to religious matters, but contains several iterations with respect to loose morals in the rough population of the Alaskan towns ; it is readable, but hardly as informative as one might wish or expect from a man of the author's experience —e.g., much more might have been written on the natives. There is a good dog-story full of human element, and the illustrations are capital photographs creditably reproduced.—J.

THE PAN ANGLES: A CONSIDERATION OF THE FEDERATION OF THE SEVEN ENGLISH-SPEAKING NATIONS. By Sinclair Kennedy. (*Longmans, Green and Co.*) 244 pp. and a map. Price 7s. 6d.

The title of this book seems unfortunate ; notwithstanding all the pleadings of the author that it best conveys his meaning, one feels tempted to associate it with some freak of futurism, cubism, or other geometric travesty of art, and its iteration throughout the book proves irksome to a degree. "Pan Angles," then, are the nations which use English as a common tongue, or the populations of which are either entirely or chiefly of British origin, or in some way dependencies of the British Crown ; a glance at the map at the end of the book makes it clearer than any words ; their areas are coloured in an aggressive red, and, strange to say, Japan has received a dab of the same colour !

The author takes his reader through an historical synopsis of British civilization, then a study of the English-speaking peoples, a long chapter dealing with individualism in the State and Parliamentary institutions, a chapter on the seven nations wholly explanatory of the title, and a review of their forms of government.

These five chapters account for half the book, and they contain much information digested and marshalled with skill, although rather one-sided in its sources and rich in peculiar dicta. The author wholly believes in the absolute assimilation into the English-speaking fold of the foreigners who emigrate to "Pan Angle" countries and seek naturalization. "He learns

words which express ideas peculiar to Pan Angle psychology. . . . The pride of the Pan Angle comes over him, and a faith in those precepts of individual freedom of which he never dreamed, it may be, until he learned to read and talk of them in English." The author has, I suppose, heard of the French republic, and he would doubtless agree that German pride—vanity shall we say—is hard to beat. He vents the same opinion further on in the book when dealing with immigration in America, forgetting that the United States are, like Joseph's coat, patchy, and their ethnography confused by the influx of European immigrants, *some* of whom became *not* Americans with citizenship, but hyphenated mongrels at best.

The sixth chapter, "Dangers," is deliberate and misleading; how much so the present state of war in Europe shows plainly. The author sees dangers ahead for the English-speaking peoples: China and Russia in the dim future, Japan and Germany in the immediate future. But why saddle Japan with intentions she does not possess? Why adduce as an argument her very name "Great" Japan and see in it a menace, since it was used in the early days of the Christian era before Yankee-doodle could ever be prophesied? Why say that Japan was urged by the British Isles to fight Russia for its very existence? Japan needed neither prompting nor help. The attitude of the Americans towards Japan is insane, and constitutes a menace for Japan, not *vice versa*. A Yankee Admiral in 1852 dictated terms to Japan with an arrogance worthy of the German Foreign Office; now another Admiral Mahan looks upon the Japanese as unassimilable, and the author sees Japan threatening the U.S.A. and the whole of the English-speaking race. Ludicrous! But whereas he would fight Japan, he would ally himself with Germany, *because* Germany is a source of danger to the "Pan Angles." *De plus fort en plus fort*; the author should read Cicero. Perhaps *now* he will realize his error.

But the sum-total of the book is that the seven English-speaking nations—England and her dominions and the United States—should have a common Government, nay, more, *a common capital built on the frontier between Canada and the United States* (I guess that's going some!), and one wonders where the individuality of the English would come in. Federation has its uses, but has it fully succeeded in God's own country, where marriage laws (forty-eight of them), divorce laws, company laws, and what not, vary from state to state?

No, I have read this book twice from cover to cover. I have been shocked by queer vocables such as "fifteen hundreds" for fifteenth century, "seeming" for seemly, and a few others; amazed by such statements as this, "people who are strong enough make no alliances," being passed for press in 1914 when all Europe depends on alliances. I have rubbed my eyes on seeing much-abused Japan, including Korea, besmeared with Pan Angle red, and my conclusion is that the author has not made his case. He thinks external pressure may turn dreams of federation into practical politics; I doubt it, now the British dependencies are helping the Motherland to fight the unprincipled, arrogant Germany. Where is America, the predominant partner in the author's dream? Where, with its 14 per cent. of assimilated foreigners in its Congress? Now is the time for

the States to show whether their practical sense in world politics is better than their marriage laws, and of that this book gives no hint, though if the centre of the race has moved across the Atlantic, "as Franklin foresaw," if the States are "Pan Angles" at heart, no better opportunity than now could offer for them to prove it in a practical manner.—H. L. J.

The third quarterly number of Vol. XII. (1914) of the "Bulletin of the Imperial Institute," just published, contains among the results of recent investigations conducted by the scientific and technical staff of the Institute, Reports on Economic Products from the Zanzibar Protectorate, Wheat from the Sudan, Peas and Beans from Burma, Timbers from Various Countries, Para Rubber from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, Funtumia Rubber from the Gold Coast, and Ceara Rubber from Papua.

A special article on the Agricultural Resources of the Zanzibar Protectorate, by F. C. McClellan, Director of Agriculture, Zanzibar, describes the climate and system of land tenure in this portion of the Empire, discusses questions of labour and wages, and deals fully with crops and produce, the chief of which are coconuts and cloves. In the latter article Zanzibar has practically a monopoly of production.

In connection with the campaign for the capture of German trade, an article on the Trade in Palm Kernels is of importance as showing that a large proportion of the exports of palm kernels from West Africa are shipped to Germany, where they are used as the source of palm kernel oil and of cake for feeding livestock, much of the palm kernel oil being re-shipped to this country. This important trade and industry, which could quite well be carried on in this country, is fully discussed.

Other articles deal with the Utilization of Waste Fish as a Source of Manure; the Tin Resources of Australia, South Africa, and Nigeria; and the Trade and Industries of Seychelles.

PERSIA AND THE BALKANS: TRAVEL AND POLITICS IN PERSIA AND THE BALKANS. THE ORIENT EXPRESS. By Arthur Moore, F.R.G.S. (Constable, 1914.) Price 7s. 6d. net.

This is not, as might be expected from the inadequate title, merely a narrative of travel in the regions of the Near East traversed by this famous transcontinental express. It is a first-hand study, based largely upon personal experiences and interviews with leading statesmen, of the political and social conditions of Persia of to-day. This occupies about half of the book. The rest is concerned with the rise of the Ottoman Constitution, the downfall of Sultan Abdul Hamid, and the Balkan War.

Mr. Moore goes very fully into the causes of the anarchy and national unrest which prevails in Persia, only slightly arrested by the new gendarmerie officered by Swedes, and is of opinion that the salvation of the country is impossible unless a general disarmament is carried out by the Government. He also maintains that it is the interference of foreign Powers which cripples the development of Persia, and that, in short, if Persia were left alone, she would *fara da se*.

In telling the story of the rise of New Turkey, Mr. Moore is on well-tilled ground, but we get fresh views and a broad outlook in his criticism of the policy of the Young Turkey party. His narrative is relieved with many anecdotes. One of the most characteristic is that of the shooting of Osman Hydet Pasha, Governor of Monastir. On learning the news of the outbreak of the revolution in this city, the Sultan sent a telegram which the Governor was instructed to read to the garrison. It began with threats, but wound up with promises and soft words. Unfortunately the Governor was shot before he got to the end of the telegram!

In dealing with the Balkan War, the author is fair and judicial, and does not hesitate to blame the intrigues which made the Bulgarian army (which did all the heavy work) the catspaw of the Balkan League. "It was Bulgaria that broke the power of the Turks in Europe. . . . The Bulgarian blood which ran like water in Thrace in those early all-important hours of the war was the tide upon which Greek and Serb have floated to a new heritage."

The author's style is so picturesque and brilliant that even when he dives deeply into the tortuous and contradictory policy of the Balkan League, he is entertaining as well as instructive; a master of neat phrases, he sums up the racial situation pithily and convincingly.

Mr. Moore's travels in Albania are vividly described, and are of some geographical value, and of special interest now that we have seen the birth of the newest of the Balkan States.—E. A. R. B.

VIŚVAKARMĀ. Part viii. *Luzac*. 4s. (Rs. 3).

This fascicule completes the first series of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswami's selection of Indian works of art, and consists of twenty collotype plates of sculpture, a short preface, and a list of the photographs published in the whole work. The present part may suffice to give an idea of the scope of the complete work; the plates are well reproduced, and thoughtfully mounted on paper guards for purposes of binding. The originals represented are of interest. Unfortunately, in too many cases they have suffered heavily from decay or from breakages; judging from the list, many of them have been published in various works more or less difficult of access now, but we can hardly follow the author's too prophetic statement that the series "includes at least a considerable proportion of the most important sculptures known or likely to be recovered in future. One feels thankful to Dr. Coomaraswami for all the books and publications in which he has of late years brought the Eastern arts and crafts before the European student, and in consequence it seems a pity that he should have refrained from writing himself the introduction to his *Viśvakarmā*; one would have liked to learn from his own pen the reasons which dictated his selection. We say this because Mr. Gill's preface contains an unreasonable tilt at the art of Greece, "specious and inferior to that of its archaic predecessors." Archaism *per se* is a bad thing to worship—Mr. Gill, we think, might recognize that (he seems inclined to do so on p. 5)—and rough-hewn images of a god do not postulate dignity or grandeur of

thoughts on the part of the sculptor, they are too often the relics of unskilled workmanship. Let us once and for all be candid about it: a sculptor may wish to convey dignity or horror, and make a hash of it if he is a wretched modeller. A few hundred or thousand years later the quaintness of his ill-shapen work will attract some crank; it may command a high price for that reason, but all the same it is not Art. Surely in any country and at any time the finest expression of religious ideals or of secular thoughts was attained only by those artists who combined with their inspiration the fullest executive skill. Such relics of the past form the majority of this book, and the selection of the plates previously published and not before us now, has apparently not been unduly affected by the complicated views on "primitive" art held by Mr. Gill. This art of India shows a high level of thought and craftsmanship; it is not "primitive," far from it.—H. L. J.

THE MISCELLANY OF A JAPANESE PRIEST (*Tsuré-zuré-Gusa*). By William N. Porter. (Milford, 1914.) Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.

The jottings of Kenko Hoshi, leisurely penned *circa* 1337-39, have attracted much attention in Japan; several editions exist, illustrated by some of the Ukiyoyé painters of the Tokugawa period, besides translations into European languages (though chiefly fragmentary), and the thoughts of the good priest can now be read fully in English in two complete translations, one by Mr. Wakameda, the other by Mr. W. N. Porter, published within a few weeks of one another.

Needless to say, much of the charm of this book is lost to the European; its style and rhythm, its apparently simple and sometimes tedious aphorisms and teachings, are the predominant causes of its value as a classic in European eyes. But Mr. Porter, whose rendering of Japanese verse into English has met with recognition here, has contrived to make a readable book, perhaps because he has now and then paraphrased, rather than translated literally, the crisp sentences of the original. The numerous explanatory notes are useful, more scholarly than Wakameda's, though curiously touching almost the same ground, and not wholly free from criticism—e.g., there seems to be a confusion about *boro-boro* (115, A), and also about *Bonji*. The definition of Kusudama is inaccurate; the characters for Shiō (salt) and the *Kana*, on p. 195, are from bad founts. The "casting out of stepsons" is an adaptation of the original text: "When playing *mamako daté* with *Sugoroku* pawns no one can tell which stone will be 'taken' first," etc.; in fact, it is a counting-out game akin in effect to the problem of Josephus, which we find introduced into Japanese mathematics three centuries later.

Mr. Porter's translation is a book worth reading and picking up at random, to find short moral lessons with an old world flavour. A more complete biographical notice of Kenkō bibliographical references, and perhaps a few illustrations from older editions than those selected (and capitally reproduced), would have been acceptable.—KOSU-  
GIKEN.

## OFFICIAL NOTIFICATIONS

### INDIAN FIELD AMBULANCE TRAINING CORPS

THE Indian Field Ambulance Training Corps, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel R. J. Baker, Indian Medical Service (retired), is now in training in London and in its week-end camp at Eastcote.

A detachment of thirty men, including four medical officers (or civil medical practitioners), four clerks, four cooks, and nineteen ward orderlies has been supplied by the Corps, in response to a request from the War Office, and has started for Netley Hospital under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sharman, Indian Medical Service (retired), to serve in connection with the Indian troops. A further small detachment of nursing orderlies has been supplied by the Corps for emergency service on hospital ships. And the probability is that the War Office will make further requests for men to serve in similar capacities as time goes on. Recruits giving their services will, of course, come under military discipline, and will receive such pay as the War Office allows. The rates of pay offered up till now have been for clerks, cooks, and orderlies, 4s. a day, for subordinate medical assistants, 10s. a day, and for medical officers (or civil medical practitioners) 20s. a day. In all cases hitherto rations and lodgings have also been provided. Qualified medical men are eligible for the better-paid positions. Students with medical training or with some experience of ambulance

work can be very useful in nursing and interpreting ; and others may be of use in other ways.

Any Indian student now in training in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, or any other University centres, who desires to avail himself of such opportunities of active service as the War Office may offer to the Corps in future, can apply to serve with the Indian Field Ambulance Training Corps. He would be required to report himself in London, and might with advantage join the week-end camp at Eastcote. But, if convenient, he might continue to do the bulk of his training at the centre where he resides. All applications for permission to serve with the Indian Field Ambulance Corps should be addressed to Lieutenant-Colonel Baker, Indian Medical Service (retired), India Office, London, S.W.

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#### INDIAN CIVIL VETERINARY DEPARTMENT

The Secretary of State for India in Council notifies that, so far as is known at present, one vacancy in the Veterinary Department will be filled in 1916.

The Secretary of State for India has received the following telegram from the Viceroy, dated October 20 :

" The week's rainfall has been in excess in the west part of the United Provinces, in the Punjab, Kashmir, the North-West Frontier Province, Rajputana, Malabar, and the south-east part of Madras ; it has been normal in Assam and Sind ; fair in Konkan and Mysore ; elsewhere it has been scanty. The rainfall prospects of the peninsula for the near future are not good except in the extreme south."

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The Secretary of State for India is informed by the Viceroy that, in pursuance of Section 3 of the Indian High Courts Act, 1911 (1 and 2 Geo. V., cap. 18), the Governor-General in Council is pleased to appoint William Ewart

Greaves, Esq., Barrister-at-law, to be a temporary Additional Judge of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal for a period of two years, with effect from the date on which he takes his seat in the said Court.

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The King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Sir John Edward Power Wallis, Kt., Judge of the High Court of Madras, to be Chief Justice of Madras in succession to Sir Arnold White, who has retired.

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The Marquess of Crewe, K.G., Secretary of State for India, has appointed Sir Frederick William Duke, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, to be a member of the Council of India in succession to Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., who is about to retire on the expiration of his term of office.



## CORRESPONDENCE

“A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR”

### A DESIRABLE REFORM

TO THE EDITOR OF THE “ASIATIC REVIEW”

DEAR SIR,

An article recently published in the *Pioneer*, and reproduced in the *Pioneer Mail* of July 24 last, under the heading “A Cheap Social Reform,” does not appear to have attracted the attention it deserves. I say this not merely because of the novelty of the suggestion contained therein, but because of its apparent simplicity and usefulness, and I feel that no apology on my part is needed for referring to the subject and enlarging on the theme.

Briefly stated, the *Pioneer* advocates that with a view to helping the working classes in India, and in order to save them from the necessity for what it terms “petty borrowing,” wages earned in our Eastern Empire should be paid, as in Europe, weekly instead of monthly.

“As everyone acquainted with India is aware,” says the *Pioneer*, “the system that has obtained generally from time immemorial . . . is to pay salaries by the month, irrespective of the status of the recipient. Thus, the Commissioner of a Division is paid by the month, a guard on the railway is paid by the month, and a municipal sweeper is paid by the month. In this respect there is no distinction whatever between the salaried officer and the working

man. . . . We see everywhere that the man on small pay habitually borrows relatively small sums of money, and the ordinary interest he is called upon to pay for the accommodation is an anna in the rupee per mensem, or 75 per cent. per annum ! That this petty borrowing should be the almost universal thing it is among the humbler classes of employees may undoubtedly be ascribed very much to the system which leaves this long interval between one pay day and another."

The *Pioneer* goes on to explain that it is the weekly payment of wages, the weekly rent day, and the weekly settlement of accounts that enable the wage-earner at home to get along without recourse to the moneylender, and surmises that if wages in England were generally paid monthly instead of weekly, "the country would soon be overrun by small moneylenders whose special business it would be to prey upon the needs of the shortsighted and improvident. But this is very much the position we find in India."

It might be argued that in England also the moneylender is by no means a *rara avis*, but there are few, we imagine, who would contend that his chief business lies with the wage-earner. On the contrary, his touting circulars are as a rule addressed to bigger fry, and it is the middle classes and improvident gentry who are his prey. If it were not so, it is certain that he would not make a living out of working men, who are far too independent, and are never borrowers except, perhaps, in times of emergency or great stress, when they prefer the convenience of a pawnshop. The circumstances at home and in India in regard to borrowing are, in short, entirely different, and I agree with the *Pioneer* that this is largely due to the fact that in one country wages and debts are paid by the week, in the other by the month. No reflecting person can fail to appreciate the perniciousness of a system which recognizes a lengthy credit, a month's "tick" at least for the poorest working man ! Small wonder that the method of giving

vouchers—or, as it is called, signing “chits”—instead of paying cash, chits which are very easily forgotten during the long interval between signature and payment of the debt, are often the cause of getting men into difficulties and driving them to the moneylender.

To quote further from the *Pioneer*: “For those who require to borrow relatively large sums, as in India, for wedding ceremonies or to meet unusual expenses . . . the Government has already done a good deal by establishing or encouraging co-operative banking societies, but these hardly cater for the class we refer to—namely, wage-earners—who on monthly salaries have not sufficient foresight or strength of character, or who, for other reasons, are unable to ‘manage’ for so long a period without borrowing.

“It is comparatively easy to tide over a week on the wages of a week, but it is infinitely more difficult on comparatively small pay to ‘carry on’ for a whole month. Take the case of the newly employed man, who gets nothing until he has served for at least a month (more probably thirty-five or thirty-six days), how is he to exist without borrowing? And having once glided into debt, how can he ever get clear of it?”

The arguments of the *Pioneer* appear incontrovertible, though perhaps they will best be realized and understood by those who have themselves had to work in India on small pay, surrounded by every facility and temptation to borrow. Human nature is human nature all the world over, and it is futile to rail at the wage-earner because he appears improvident. Custom, or what is known in India as “dustoor,” dies hard, and if it is the “dustoor” for the wage-earner to borrow a few rupees each month at ruinous interest, then surely it is desirable to look into and examine the cause, applying such remedy as is possible, rather than to accept the fact and allow things to drift.

During the past fifty years, or, say, since the introduction of railways into India, large and increasing numbers of working men are employed; a new class has sprung into

being since pre-Mutiny days, and India is no longer a country of relatively well-to-do officials. On the other hand, there are numbers of people who are, usually, and we think incorrectly, stigmatized and referred to as of the *subordinate* grade ; it is in regard to these that my remarks particularly apply. They form a community employed by the railways, in mills, factories, mines, and other industrial enterprises. This community consists of Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and Indians ; many of them perform onerous and responsible duties ; nearly all of them are married and have families to support ; their wage is paid monthly, their servants and dependents are paid monthly, and their accounts are supposed to be settled monthly. Their cash transactions are ordinarily limited to those items only for which credit cannot be got, and a large proportion of them are either in debt or live without saving, their sole aim being to exist from one pay day to the next.

So far as the European and Anglo-Indian are concerned, many of us can remember the days when credit used practically to be forced on them ; it can still be only too readily obtained.. The introduction of the value payable post and the cash system of payment introduced by those pioneers of provident living, Messrs. Whileaway, Laidlaw and Co., have happily done some good in restricting unlimited credit, but there are always those who, charging higher prices, are willing to allow debts to be run up by men in regular employment, and there are always Indian moneylenders who will give loans on personal security, attachment of pay through the law courts being the ordinary and simple course of recovery when other means fail. The number of "court attachments" against the wages of the employees of any large company, or, indeed, against Government "subordinates," is a clear if inadequate indication of the indebtedness of the working classes in India. It is hardly conceivable that such a state of affairs would exist if wages were paid weekly ; moneylenders would hesitate to lend to the weekly paid man even if the weekly paid man still

wanted to borrow. Long credits would cease altogether, and the position would automatically become what it is in Europe. Can there be any doubt that if such a result could be achieved the benefit both to the employer and the employee would outbalance any small difficulty there might be in initiating and generally introducing the change?

The main idea of the proposal is not only to help the wage-earner, but also to hit the moneylender, the man who preys on the weakness of the poor and flourishes by usury. If it is asked what class of persons should be considered wage-earners, or where the line should be drawn between salaried officials and other employees, then it might be suggested that all drawing less than Rs. 250 per mensem should be paid weekly. Objections are sure to be raised; there are those who will say, "We cannot go into decimals and details, how could you pay a man by the week who ~~only~~ earns 8 shillings a month?" For our part we fail to see any greater difficulty in doing this in India than in paying weekly wages in England. It might as well be asked how the great industrial insurance companies at home collect as little as threepence a week from the insured!

But enough has been said; there is no need to labour the point. It is not for me to work out every detail; rather let the suggestion be considered on its merits by the Government and by those in authority, for there is undoubtedly much to be argued in favour of it. As the *Pioneer* concludes, "Many other points will occur to those who give the subject a thought, and we would only add that we would not for a moment advocate the changing of the status of employees, who should still remain monthly servants, even if paid weekly. . . . The question is well worth consideration. Surely, when Government is showing itself so much alive to the evils of the indebtedness which presses down the people, it will not, Naamanlike, turn from one means of remedy because it is cheap and simple."

G. H.

August 28, 1914.

## COMMERCIAL NOTES

### THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF BRITISH TRADE

#### I.

#### THE CASE FOR CANE SUGAR

Now that the supply of beet sugar from Germany and Austria is stopped, it is opportune to turn our serious attention to the sugar-growing resources of the British Empire, and consider the best means of developing its almost unlimited capacity for the production of cane sugar.

Pure cane sugar is a much superior article than that produced from beets, which from their soft, quickly decomposing nature, do not admit of complete refinement. More than 88 per cent. of refined cane sugar is produced from the raw article. The cane molasses is a valuable by-product, almost equal in its sweetening capacity to that of crystallized cane sugar. Beet molasses, on the contrary, is highly charged with impurities, and has a "fusty smell, and a nauseous, bitter taste" ("Chemistry and Sugar," by J. Mackintosh).

The beet itself is a doubtfully profitable crop for the British farmer, requiring very heavy manuring and much labour. The crop is greatly affected by atmospheric conditions, and the capital required for a modern sugar-refining plant is very considerable.

From a sanitary point of view the inevitable introduction of the huge swarms of flies attendant on sugar refineries

must be a consideration in a thickly populated country. We urge, therefore, that the efforts of the Government and the taste of the people be directed rather towards the stimulation of our own Imperial cane sugar supply than the encouragement of the inferior beet product.

Sugar thrives in tropical and subtropical soils of open clay or loam, the rich volcanic loams of Hawaii yielding 100 tons to the acre. Java—the world's "model sugar farm"—yields about 40 tons to the acre; the crop is alternated with rice and beans. In 1910-11 Java exported 1,182,653 tons of sugar. "The ample investment of funds in the newest machinery, the acting of the sugar experiment stations, the adequate training of sugar chemists and factory chiefs, all these have contributed towards making the Java sugar industry a model one of which it may be highly proud" ("Cane Sugar Industry," by Geerligs).

There is no reason why, with a little encouragement, India should not emulate Java's industry. The sugar-cane has been an important product of India since historic times. Tradition says it was created by Vishva Mitra to be the heavenly food of an earthly Paradise.

It is mentioned in the "Atharva Veda": "I have crowned thee with a shooting sugar-cane, so that thou shalt not be averse to me."

In 1913 the total area under sugar in India was 2,370,000 acres; the same year 617,500 cwts. of cane, and 57,000 of Austrian beet was imported. In 1911, owing to the failure of the European beet crop, India exported 26,732 cwts. of refined sugar to England, otherwise she consumes all she grows. Yet, with improved methods and production, India is capable of supplying the markets of the whole world. Egypt produces about 44,403 tons of sugar. The industry has declined since the wholesale planting of cotton, which has not been an entire success. The chief need is for new canes, which are being imported, but not in sufficient numbers, from Java.

Vast areas in Queensland and New South Wales are suitable for sugar planting, but the industry, although encouraged by the Australian Government, is hampered by labour difficulties. But with an increased and steady demand for pure cane sugar we may look for a speedy reorganization of the labour question on a sounder footing. The same may be said of Natal, which is more than capable of supplying the whole of South Africa, which at present imports largely, with sugar. In 1912 Natal produced 106,000 tons of raw sugar.

Cane sugar is not only an essential food for the blood, it has strong antiseptic qualities in its concentrated form, and in regard to its feeding and sweetening properties is not only the purest, but the cheapest, form of sugar.

In 1911-12, of the world's production of sugar, 56 per cent. only was cane (in spite of the failure of the beet crop on the Continent)—*i.e.*, 8,648,010 tons of cane, and 6,801,000 tons of beet.

Great Britain consumes 91 pounds per head per annum, of which the great proportion has hitherto been German beet. Owing, as we do, the great sugar-producing areas of the world, it is surely not too much to urge that we refuse the German-Austrian article, and depend for our supply on our own Imperial cane sugar.

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This series will be continued with an article on "Honey" in the January issue.



## "THE SUBALTERNS' WAR," 1885-1888\*

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. C. YATE

I DO not know who christened it "The Subalterns' War," or whether that popular designation emanated from Simla, Mandalay, or some jungle outpost. Sir Charles Crosthwaite, whose most interesting and well-written volume appeared in February, 1912, prefers to entitle his work, "The Pacification of Burma." But, then, Sir Charles was a Chief Commissioner, and, as such, pacification was his *métier*. Sir Charles would have been perfect if he could have added to the administrative experiences of a Provincial Head a practical knowledge of the activities of a mere subaltern. The fighting spirit is there, as may be judged from his letter to the *Times* of August 9, 1913, in reply to Lord Crewe's public, but calculated, censure of Sir T. Hewitt's action in the Sitapur case. It was as a mere subaltern that, in February, 1887, I wrote, from Yamethen, to *Blackwood's Magazine* a paper entitled "Burma Reformed," in which I endeavoured to reproduce the vivid impressions fresh-stamped on my brain of three months devoted to the relentless pursuit of the rebel Burman. From April to

\* 1. "Our Pacification of Burma," by Sir Charles Crosthwaite, K.C.S.I. (Edward Arnold, 1912. 16s. net).

2. "Burma under British Rule," by Joseph Dantremer, translated, with an Introduction by Sir J. G. Scott, K.C.I.E. (Fisher Unwin, 1913. 15s. net).

3. "A Civil Servant in Burma," by Sir Herbert Thirkell White (Arnold, 1913. 12s. 6d. net).

October, 1886, I had been employed in the Intelligence Division at India Army Headquarters in preparing, among other work, a weekly bulletin, for the information of the Secretary of State for and Government of India, of all that took place in Upper Burma. The situation there in the hot weather of 1886 was serious, and caused anxiety to the authorities at Simla and at the India Office. Every telegram and despatch from and to Mandalay, every communication that passed between the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Roberts, and the Military Member, Sir George Chesney—everything, in short, that bore upon the task which the Home Government had entrusted to the Viceroy of India, Lord Dufferin—viz., that of making the Burmese Empire an *annexe* of that of India—was placed in my hands ; and my duty it was to compile therefrom a narrative which would keep the Supreme Government duly informed of the state of affairs in Burma. This narrative was reprinted in Blue-books, Burma, No. 3 of 1886 and No. 1 of 1887, and is bare and brief, as befits a Blue-book. When my regiment, the 1st Baluchis, was ordered to Burma, I handed over my work at Simla, and joined my regiment in October, 1886, at Rangoon. How matters stood in Burma in the summer of 1886, the words I am about to quote (from *Blackwood*, May, 1887, p. 711) will testify :

“ To loot mails and convoys ; ambuscade small bodies of troops ; shoot down officers and men from almost inaccessible places in scarcely penetrable jungle ; to rush unprotected and weakly-garrisoned posts ; to shoot sentries at night ; to fire and pillage villages friendly to or under the protection of the British forces and massacre their inhabitants ; to quarter themselves and their adherents on any unprotected village, extorting supplies, money, arms, and recruits—the penalty of refusal being death and destruction of property by fire or plunder ; to make stern examples of those Burmans whom they deemed traitors to the national cause by putting them to the horrible death of crucifixion *à la Birmanienne* (it is to be feared that this fate befell even

one or two British subjects who were taken prisoners)—such were some of the main features of the activities of the rebel Burmese forces."

The first duty which awaited my regiment on its arrival at Rangoon was the very sad one of parading for the funeral obsequies of that most gallant soldier, General Sir Herbert Macpherson. Directly that was over, Captain A. L. Sinclair's wing (400 bayonets), of which I was senior subaltern, started from Rangoon in flat-bottomed stern-wheelers, via Maubin, Prome, Minhla, and Minbu for Myingyan. Cholera boarded us on the way up, and claimed several victims. The mosquitoes of Maubin and the night-beetles of Prome—both in their myriads—still linger in my memory. Our march from Myingyan to Yamethen had but one notable feature—mud. We had a convoy of 200 bullock-carts of supplies. How the bullocks towed them into axle-deep of mud, and then left our stanch and stalwart sepoy (Sikhs, Punjabis, Pathans, Sindhis, and a few Baluchis in those days) to haul them out; how we bridged in a day with jungle-cut material a swollen stream 30 feet broad, running swift between deep and steep banks, and passed the 200 carts over them by hand, the bullocks swimming across at the usual ford; this is best described in a letter written by me from Wundwin on November 17, 1886:

"After our voyage up the Irrawaddy, which lasted a fortnight, we landed at Myingyan on November, the 4th (1886), and on the 7th started for our destination, a largish town and military station called Yamethen, some 150 miles S.S.E. of Mandalay. We have had a pretty march of it, being accompanied by 200 country bullock-carts, of which the average rate of progress is one mile per hour. This is absolute fact, not a *façon de parler*. From the 8th to the 10th we had continuous and heavy rain, which drenched us, and flooded the roads. In places our men had to strip and pull the carts through mud and water 2 to 3 feet deep and up to 150 yards in width. Since the 10th this has

been an almost every-day occurrence. Most of our road was unknown, having never before been traversed by our troops. About sixty men, with axes, bill-hooks, spades, and pickaxes, preceded the column, and cut a track for the carts through the jungle, wherever the so-called road was found to be flooded, provided always that the jungle in its vicinity was not also flooded. Marching from 6 a.m., to 3, 4, or 5 p.m., at the rate of one mile per hour, making our own road, is, I can assure you, not very amusing. While it rained it was at least cool; but since the rain stopped on the 10th, it has been stifling and scorching, as our noses, necks, and hands testify. However, we are all very fit. Of 'dacoits' we have seen nothing. There is a band 300 or 400 strong stockaded ten or twelve miles from here, but we are not allowed to go out of our way to attack it. A force is being sent out from Meiktila for that purpose."

I remember a distinguished Brigadier saying to us at Myingyan: "If you are fired on from the jungle, face each rank outward." We did keep small advanced and rear-guards as nuclei, but most of all ranks were busy with the convoy. My description of a column marching in Burma (*Blackwood*, May, 1887, pp. 712-713) is couched in these terms: "A column is marching along a narrow path or an open river-bed (Burmice, *chaung*), flanked in either case by dense jungle, and in the case of the *chaung* by high, often precipitous, banks. All who have experience of Burmese warfare know that, in very close jungle, it is practically impossible to work flanking parties consistently with the reasonably rapid progress of the column. The flankers, too, are apt to get lost. Consequently, the column pushes on with the usual advanced guard."

In "The Subalterns' War" no one learnt better how to tackle and confront the Burman than the subaltern. In the very first expedition against a rebel Boh in which I served, the wily Boh, evading the main column, fell upon the supply escort of forty Somersets and Baluchis under Lieutenants Aspinall and Morse, and having laid eleven

low with wounds, obliged the whole party to fall back, carrying their wounded with them. When this attack was made, I, with thirty Baluchis, a guide, and an interpreter, was moving along as the advanced guard of the main column under Colonel Butler, of the Madras Army. The sound of firing came from my left front, and seemed quite close. My instinct was to march to the sound of the guns, but the guide said, "Hopeless! you must make a detour." So off my thirty men and I went at a double, following the guide, and during the next hour or more traversed a succession of breastworks on either side, and, finally, occupied the main stockade (*Zédigôn*) of the Lay-wun (his band was reported to number about 1,000); but, alas! the sound of firing had ceased. I was too late to succour the gallant little escort, and of our foe only a few stray shots and an occasional figure indicated the proximity. When I rejoined the main column at nightfall, I found them comfortably encamped and preparing the evening meal, almost on the spot where I first heard the firing. They evidently thought me well able to take care of myself. If I had only been in time to join hands with Lieutenants Aspinall and Morse, we three subalterns would have had a little tale of our own to tell, a little *escarmouche* all our own. Had Sir Charles Napier been alive in 1886-1889, the reputation which his regiment, the 1st Baluchis (raised in 1843), won in Burma would have gladdened his fiery old heart. They had not been three months (they stayed in all three years) in the country, when they were known throughout the length and breadth of it as the "Belu-gyis," the Burmese name for a fiend of supernatural power. They had some success in love as well as in war, and brought back with them at least a dozen Burmese, Karen, or Shan wives. Like most of my fellow-countrymen, I very much liked the Burman. I had to do many a long march with him as guide, covering distances that tested the stoutest of thews and sinews, and the best of conditions. His muscle, wind, and stamina

never failed him. He had to walk in front when we approached rebel breastwork, stockade, or camp. His phlegm was undisturbed. The merciless spike pierced his foot or leg; he pulled it out and plodded on. Endurance and courage and cheery spirits are theirs, and they have the making of men in them. I generally got on well with the Burmese officials. After the active operations of the cold weather of 1886-87, I was sent to command a strong outpost in the direction of the Yomas, the centre of the densely-wooded, indentated country between the Sittang and the Irrawaddy Valleys. The officer whom I relieved said: “There is not a gang of dacoits (the common term for the rebels) within twenty miles of this post.” I found that that officer had quarrelled with and never spoke to the Myook. Naturally he got no information. The Myook and I got on so well that he used to send me considerable gifts of buffalo flesh. Meat was scarce, and I little suspected that disease and not the butcher’s axe or knife had terminated the animal’s life. He also gave me—what was better—useful intelligence. Within fifteen days of taking command of the outpost, I had tracked to their lair several gangs of dacoits and broken them up. My general plan was a night march and an attack at dawn. It was fascinating work; but, after a time, the sound of the *taktoo* (a big lizard), the jungle cock, and the barking deer—the three commonest night-sounds in Burmese jungles—began to pall. Still, I look back to the eighteen months which I spent in Burma as one of the most attractive and engrossing periods of my life.

There is one thing that the military man will detect in all, or almost all, civilian narratives of military operations in countries bordering on India, and that is the arrogation by the civil and political officer of control over the troops. I will not attempt to trace the origin of this claim. It was in full force during the first three and a half years of the first Afghan War and, as the Great Duke pointed out to Lord Ellenborough, led, in a great measure, to the disasters of that war. It had, too, in more recent

times, its bearing on the ill-fated issue of the Battle of Maiwand. It was reflected, too, in the control exercised formerly by the Military Member over the Commander-in-Chief. On p. 15 of Sir Charles Crosthwaite's book we read: "Thus besides the soldiers the Chief Commissioner had about 3,300 men at his disposal." This was in the autumn of 1886, Sir Charles Bernard being Chief Commissioner. It is a mistake to speak of Burma as being in any sense under civilian control until the spring of 1887, by which time Lockhart and Low and the other Brigadiers under Sir George White—not to forget *the Subalterns*—had reduced the recalcitrant Burmese to a state of comparative impotency. I still preserve a letter from our excellent Deputy-Commissioner of Pynimana, Mr. H. L. Eales, written in July, 1887, to express his satisfaction at the success of our efforts from April to July of that year in breaking up the rebel gangs in the Pegu Yoma, south of the Popa Mountain; but, in reality, the country was throughout that time under martial law. Writing in February, 1887 (*Blackwood*, as before quoted), I made this as clear as words could enable me to make it. "Within a very short time after the occupation of Mandalay in November, 1885, the basis of a civil government was established, and martial law abolished. This step having received the sanction of the Government of India, a retrograde movement became difficult, if not impossible. Nevertheless, it was the opinion of a numerous section of the Indian community, and one well qualified to judge, that the step was premature. Sir Charles Bernard resolutely set his face against any retrogression. That was but natural, the forward step having been taken at his instance, and he being the chief representative of the civil power. On the other hand, if rumour be true, the supreme military authority in Upper Burma advocated the restoration of martial law. This was also only natural. As a matter of fact, however, the exercise of the civil power has been purely nominal. To all intents and purposes, martial law

has prevailed up to the present time." In 1886, in short, the phantom of power appeased the civil, while the substance contented the military. General Sir Harry Prendergast vacated the chief command early in April, 1886, and was succeeded by Major-General G. White, V.C.

I may, not improbably, have occasion, as a man of military sympathies, to draw attention to several passages in "*The Pacification of Burma*," in which the civilian author appears to me to subordinate unduly military to civilian authority. But with one passage in his book (p. 195) I am fully in accord. It is this: "There was little chance for a combatant soldier to gain distinction against such a foe. Captain Crimmin, of the Indian Medical Service, was awarded a Victoria Cross for gallantry in this action." It is, indeed, a curious coincidence that a combatant officer like Lieutenant M. J. Tighe, of the 1st Baluchis, now, I believe, a Brigadier-General, whose reputation as a good fighter was established then, and has been confirmed on several occasions since, could on this occasion, during several hours of hard fighting and pursuit, find no such occasion as was accorded to the medical officer, who was merely caring for the wounded. Personally, I have long thought that the V.C. should not be awarded for the mere saving of a life or two. I would have it awarded only to men whose bravery or devotion had materially contributed to the success of some military operation, or to the retrieval of a situation which threatened disaster. We all know that great courage and devotion are shown, and notably by medical officers, in rescuing the wounded; but I am opposed to awarding the V.C. for such courage and devotion, unless it distinctly contributes to the success of the day or hour.

Sir Charles Crosthwaite's opening chapter contains some remarks on the comparative utility for war purposes in the intricate Burmese jungles and hills of cavalry, mounted infantry, and infantry. I held command of a company of mounted infantry throughout the cold weather of 1886-87.



My strongest feeling when I resigned the command of it and rejoined my own corps on the termination of the active winter operations of General Lockhart's Brigade was that the union of British and native soldiers in one and the same company of mounted infantry was a very great mistake. As far as my own men, Baluchis, were concerned, I was perfectly content; but beside them I had twenty-five British soldiers and seventeen worthless Madras sepoys in my company. At the conclusion of my mounted infantry command, I wrote a very plain-spoken letter to Colonel Penn Symons about the incompatibility of British and native soldiers being yoked together—a letter to which he very kindly replied in a more or less sympathetic spirit. The strongest confirmation of the soundness of my view was the fact that during 1887 the mounted infantry in Burma was reorganized, and separate British and native companies formed. The senior officers under whose command we subalterns of mounted infantry found ourselves did not always show judiciousness in the way they employed or treated us. I did rear-guard duty twice with my mounted infantry on very long marches in the most difficult and intricate forest country. One commander simply ran away from me, and the other, during a march which lasted for twenty-three hours, never once thought of sending back an orderly to inform me of his movements, and to act as a guide. The result was that night overtook my column after it had covered about thirty-nine miles; and as even the elephants fell back foiled in the dark in the effort to negotiate a difficult and densely-wooded spur, I was forced to bivouac as we stood. The result was that the main body of the troops, including the G.O.C., passed the night just the other side of the spur without baggage.

Sir George White, as Sir Charles Crosthwaite (p. 17) points out, expected great things from the three regiments of cavalry for which he asked in 1886. As an arm against the Burmans the success of cavalry was simply due to the

ignorance and lack of training of our foe. Our own manuals have long taught us that, man to man, the foot-soldier is more than a match for the trooper, even in the open. Had the Burmans had discipline and enterprise, our cavalry would have been simply wiped out. But the Burmans often extended to infantry the same pusillanimity which made them spare cavalry, alike by day and night. My mounted infantry worked on several occasions with cavalry by night. When we came to difficult ravines we lit fires, and by their light crossed the obstacle. What a chance for our enemies! My own opinion is that cavalry in Burma was much overrated. Sir George White had asked for them, and was bound in his dispatch of March, 1887, to justify his demand. Hence that despatch contained undue, almost absurd, laudation of one or two cavalry officers. I remember at the time there was a leader in the *Times of India* reviewing these despatches, in which this most apposite question was put: "If Captain So-and-so is such a model of a cavalry leader, what terms of praise are left to apply to the Zieithens, the Murats, the Ruperts, and the Cromwells?" The bulk of the work of pacifying Burma was done by the infantry. The artillery was rarely of any use, and the cavalry, as Sir George White said, simply put the fear of God into them, and they bolted. Into the forest and over the rough ground the cavalry could not follow them. When they caught unarmed fugitive Burmans in the open, they were very often terrified villagers, and not "rebels"; and it is by no means certain that the sowar stopped to ascertain to which of the two he accorded (to use Sir George White's own words) "that short shrift of the lance," the sight of which "paralyzed them with fear." I have watched an old 7-pounder battery pounding away at a distant kyaung, said to be held by rebels, without ever putting a shell into it; and on another occasion, when an R.A. Captain commanded a mixed force, he insisted on opening fire on a rebel stockade with his guns. The only result was that the rebels retreated without losing a man, and lived to fight another day. Had he kept his guns silent,

and closed round the Burmese position with his infantry, he would have scored an appreciable success, and probably broke up the gang. Sir Charles Crosthwaite, who had no practical and personal experience whatever of the fighting of 1885-86, does not hesitate (p. 17) to quote the experience of the first and second Burmese wars, and to state that "the experience of 1885-86 proved cavalry to be the most effective arm." I do not know whether the "Bohs" had "a modern jockey-seat" or not, but I do know this that, jockey-seat or no jockey-seat, our infantry could, and did, give them "fits." I have beside me, as I write, the reports drawn up by me in the Intelligence Division at Simla in 1886, and the reports of the operations of all the brigades under Sir George White from October, 1886, to March, 1887; and I have my own eighteen months' experience from October, 1886, to April, 1888. There is evidence there that *the* pacifying factor of Upper Burma was the infantry, and not any other arm of the service. Besides, anthrax, glanders, and berri-berri were busy with the cavalry horses, and in some cases reduced the effective strength of a regiment by one-third.

The immortal Jorrocks said of hunting that it embodied all the excitements of war with 10 per cent. of the danger. Be that as it may, war with the Burmese seemed to me to embody about 10 per cent. of the danger of war with a European foe. The scenes and characters of Fenimore Cooper came back to my memory as, alone in the almost trackless forests, by day and sometimes all night, we tracked these rebels to their lairs, broke up their gangs, captured their arms and kits, and retook elephants and cattle looted from the villages or the Bombay-Burma trading corporations. For all purposes of ambushade or surprise every advantage should have been on the side of the Burman; and yet between April and July, 1887, marching with thirty or forty of my Baluchis, I at least twice surprised armed bodies of rebels, halting by day, and five or six times tracked out and rushed their camps, generally soon after daybreak.

They certainly had some system of outposts and sentries, but as a rule they neglected this precaution. When on November 28, 1886, we approached the headquarters (Zaydígôn and Kinywa) of the Lay-Woon (*vide* 3rd Brigade Report, B.P.W., a very inaccurate account of what really happened, *teste ure*, who was an eyewitness) I who, as stated before, had this advanced guard, saw Burmans slinking away through the trees and dense bush. It was a very stupidly-managed attack. Although we had an old Lower-Burman civilian with us, he allowed deserted villages to be burnt, thereby giving direct notice of and delaying our advance. The two 7-pounder guns also delayed us disastrously. It was probably due to this delay that the Lay-Woon was able, as I have already related, to fall upon Lieutenant Aspinall's small column (forty Somersets and Baluchis)' and handle them roughly, while little opposition was offered to the main column, or rather the advanced guard of it under my command. Next morning I again had the advanced guard and, as we approached Zaydigôn, a small band concealed in the bush gave us a straggling volley and wounded two men of the leading files. No one sighted an enemy. In or about June, 1887, intelligence reached me, being then in the Yomas between the Sittang and the Irrawaddy, that Buda Yaza was hiding in my vicinity. A day or two later a Burman came to me and reported that one of Buda Yaza's men had just entered a village two miles from my camp. I had about fifty of the 1st Baluchis with me. We decoyed out and seized that man about 8.30 p.m., and forcing him to act as guide started at once, threading our way all night in pitchy darkness over country that one could with difficulty have traversed by day. As we neared the Boh's abode, picking our way at daybreak amid the spikes which beset the approaches (the guide got one right through the foot and another through the calf), the excitement was intense. But the bird had flown, and from that time till I left Burma in April, 1888, he disappeared from ken. My interpreter found in the camp a group of bamboo huts, and brought to me an inscribed

bamboo in which Buda Yaza ridiculed my attempt to catch him and threatened the guide, forced though he was to act as such, with a terrible retribution. We took that guide back to Pyinmana, and the civil authorities took him under their protection. Sir Charles Crosthwaite mentions (p. 117) Buda Yaza as again, in May, 1889, raising the standard of rebellion, and making a stubborn stand, and even repulsing our military police near Yenangyaung. After that no mention is made of him.

After General Lockhart had completed his winter operations, I was sent to command the post at Tounngnyo on the east side of the Yomas which stretched south from Popa; and then began my real few months of backwoods work. As a C.O. of Mounted Infantry I was at everyone's beck and call. At Tounngnyo, with sixty or seventy Baluchis, twenty of the 2nd Queen's, a R.E. sergeant, and some Military Police, I had an independent charge, thirty or forty miles away from everything. Then began the real good time. The relations between the Myook and myself were all that could be desired. I mention this because for me it meant information. Every few days came in the news of some rebel gang freshly marked down. We visited them all impartially, usually marching by night and making our calls at daybreak. We brought in on one occasion two very fine Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation's elephants, for which my men got a handsome reward; and on another fifty buffaloes, freshly looted by the rebels from some village, for which, thanks to the apathy of my superiors, the men got nothing, though Tommy Atkins was fed on them (the buffaloes) for weeks. One sad thing occurred. As we were rounding up the buffaloes in a *chaung*, in order to drive them off—we had to drive them fifteen miles—a buffalo charged and gored a man in the abdomen. He was dead, poor fellow, in half an hour. We buried him hurriedly—we were very tired, having marched since daybreak in trying heat; and had still fifteen miles of cattle-driving before us—in the bed of the *chaung*, and passed on

our way. My thoughts have often reverted to that scene. It was a sad one. In my experience of this rebel-hunting work the rebels were exceedingly clever in saving their own skins. Experience, too, adds that the official accounts of the enemy's killed and wounded were ludicrously exaggerated. These accounts may go down to history as gospel; so hereby I lodge my protest against them. Too often, moreover, the enemy's reported casualties were mere villagers, and not "dacoits" at all; and this very fact that our troops could not at times distinguish between the "dacoit" and the villager may make those who thought nothing of big "casualty" bills in 1887 thankful now to salve their consciences with the knowledge that the "bills" were very far from being strictly audited.

More than twenty-five years have elapsed since my nine months of a backwoodsman's life in the Burmese jungles came to a close, but even to this day some faint shadow of the weird spell engendered by days and nights spent in threading the intricacies of that vast area of forest, ridge and ravine, rests upon me. Pitch dark were the nights under the canopy of the trees—so dark that, marching as we necessarily did, in single file along the slightest and narrowest of tracks, we could not see the man who was moving two feet ahead of us. The guide on these occasions was always secured by a rope and kept well in hand. To keep the closest touch was imperative, and, after passing any difficult point, it was essential to halt and count the men, for fear any should have strayed. To keep a unit together and to keep touch with other units on a pitch-dark night was one of the problems which campaigning in Burma set us to solve. Only by incessant vigilance could I keep my own command together during a night march. I lost a havildar and bugler on one occasion. They cost me much anxiety and a sleepless night. We had had ocular evidence of the treatment accorded to prisoners by the rebels and, with that knowledge, to rest till my men were safe was impossible. I find among my letters one dated January 21, 1887, from Yamethen. As a descrip-

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tion of a night march in Burma I think it is worth quoting.

"I got back yesterday after another ten days with the General (Lockhart) after rebels—uncommonly hard work. I think I had on that occasion the stiffest march I ever had, not excepting the (Afghan) Boundary Commission marches. On 14th inst. at 10 p.m. we started to attack, and, if possible, to surprise Buda Yaza at a place known to be ~~fully~~ thirty miles off. As bad luck would have it, it was my turn of duty for rear-guard. The distance proved, in the end, to be about thirty-five miles through very difficult country, hilly and overgrown with dense forest and jungle, the road a mere track over spur and ravine. I marched all night and all next day till 9 p.m., and then I found myself confronted by a bit of road that was simply impassable in the pitchy darkness. Meantime the elephants, twelve in all, were some way behind, and in the dark made very slow progress. A man with a lighted candle for the last three or four miles guided the leading elephant, the others following, up to where I had halted. It was half-past three on the morning of the 16th before the rearguard got across a *chaung* (i.e., a dry river-bed, generally with steep wooded banks), on the far side of which we had bivouacked, when I found that the mules and ponies could proceed no farther in the dark. As it turned out, the General, with his lightly-equipped column, had pushed ahead just three miles further and found Buda Yaza flown, though many of his followers were lurking in the jungle. They fired on his bivouac that night. I am glad that they did not fire on mine, for my men were dead beat, and I had with me all the sick and worn-out men of the General's column who had fallen out half-way and been left for me to bring on. After four hours halt I started off my baggage animals again. It took us four hours to get the transport over a steep ascent not 300 yards long—so bad was the track. Indeed, we had to make out a new track, as the first ponies that went up the beaten one slipped and rolled down the hill with their loads. In one place three ponies rolled down a slope of about 60°

for 40 or 50 feet, and, strange to say, were not seriously injured. The loads were all smashed up. The rebels fired on us several times during the march, but only wounded one of my mounted infantrymen's ponies. All the General achieved was to break up the rebel camp (it had long been their fastness), capture a brass gun and rescue a Madrasi prisoner.”

My own chance came, as I have narrated above, five months later, but Buda Yaza had no greater difficulty in evading me. Mr. Crosthwaite himself visited Toangoo just about that time, and thus (p. 61) describes what was going on in the Eastern (Mr. Tucker's) Division :

“In April, May, and June the troops of Sir William Lockhart's command, aided to some extent by the police, were very active. The forests and all the hiding-places were thoroughly explored and, for the time at least, cleared of dacoits. . . . By the middle of June only small bands were left, who were forced to conceal themselves, and there was little trouble afterwards in this district. But the difficult country of the Pegu Yoma between Pyinmaná (Ningyan) and the Magwé district of the Southern Division continued to harbour dacoits until 1890.” Between March and June, 1887, I broke up eleven bands of rebels, and on several occasions followed them into and right across the Pegu Yoma, coming on one occasion into touch with our troops operating from Taungdwingyi. This life engendered in us those habits of alertness and keen observation with which in our boyish days the pages of Fenimore Cooper had made us theoretically familiar. As we threaded the jungle, to surprise or to be surprised was a possibility at any moment. By night, in any difficult ground, brushwood had to be collected and fires lit, especially if the party was in whole or in part mounted. A bold enemy would have known how to profit by such opportunities ; but the Burmans threw them away. I heard a captured Boh admit that he and his gang, secure in the overhanging jungle, had watched my party pass along a *chaung*, and debated whether or not they should fire. They decided not to fire. When the rains began, the dry river-beds

became quicksands. We spent some anxious hours on elephants when our road lay along a treacherous *chaung*; and the horseman would need beware. Horse and rider floundering in a fluid pulp afforded a spectacle more amusing to others than to the rider. The skill of an elephant in clambering up and down steep, moss-grown, slippery, rocky ground, often devoid of path, in the wildest recesses of the Yomas, was a revelation.

Of the five or six Brigadiers who, in 1886-87, conducted the operation of pacifying Upper Burma, I think that I am right in saying that to Generals Lockhart and Low fell the most arduous work. I have already quoted Sir Charles Crosthwaite's tribute to the activity of Lockhart's force, and indirectly (pp. 64 and 102) he bears witness to the difficulties with which Low† had to contend. He there quotes and requotes Low's opinion that the Taungdwingyi district, divided by the intricate, trackless Pegu Yoma from that of Pyinmaná, would be the last stronghold and refuge of dacoity and organized resistance. This proved to be the case, but the operations of Lockhart's and Low's troops had, by July, 1887, left few bands capable of doing any real mischief. They had been led such a life that they longed for peace; so much so, that some gangs put their leaders, if they refused to surrender, to death, and themselves made terms with the British authorities. Major Sir Bartle Frere of the Rifle Brigade was very active and successful in his operations in Taungdwingyi in 1887, as Sir Charles Crosthwaite mentions.

In *Blackwood* for September last appears a pathetic story from the pen of Sir Charles Crosthwaite of the superstitious, but none the less unselfish, devotion of a Burmese mother. Her name, "Ma Mé," furnishes the title. The scene is the famous and familiar Shwé Dagon Pagoda. Hla-U, the son of Ma Mé, and a notorious brigand, has at last been caught, and is doomed to death. He hailed from a province in which, as the author says, no good-looking

\* Afterwards General Sir William Lockhart, Commander-in-Chief in India.

† Afterwards General Sir Robert Cunliffe Low, Bombay Command.

girl would look at a young fellow who had not served his time with some brigand chief. Hla-U's mother, despairing of earthly help, appeals to the supernatural. As she toils up the fatiguing steps of the pagoda, she sees an encouraging light playing round the *hti*. As she prays, she watches a powerful man struggling to stir a sacred stone, success in moving which indicates the great god's assent to prayer. When the man had gone—he did at last stir the stone—the feeble old woman crawls up to it, and strives and strives, devoutly praying that divine aid might give her the strength to stir that stone, and so assure her that her prayers for the preservation of her son's life would not be in vain. So striving and so praying she passed unwittingly into unconsciousness and another world. Death released her from sorrow. In 1886-87 there was a famous rebel leader named Hla-U in the Sagaing district. The report of the 1st Brigade of the Burmese Field Force, dated February 1, 1887, says: "This district was in a state of absolute turmoil and terror of Hla-U in November last (1886). Hla-U has, unfortunately, not been caught, but his gangs have been completely dispersed. Hundreds of his followers surrendered, and have been set free, after trial, on bail, and the villagers have returned to their villages, and cultivation is in progress." Sir Charles Crosthwaite, on p. 49 of his "Pacification," states that, before April 10, 1887, "Hla-U, the most noted leader in the Sagaing district, had been killed by his own men weary of the life." I had thought that Sir Charles Crosthwaite's pathetic tale might have been based on the fate of the Hla-U whose name was so well known in 1886 and 1887; but such evidently is not the case. Neither Sir George Scott, nor any other writer on Burma to whose works I have access, makes any reference to the mystic stone. It seems prosaic thus to probe the pros and cons of a touching story, but I must confess that I thought that it was not improbably based on fact. If it is, however, the object—probably unworthy object—of Ma Mé's devotion was not the noted Boh, Hla-U of Sagaing.

The announcement has appeared that the life of Field-Marshal Sir George White is about to be written by Sir Mortimer Durand. This biography will give us, we must hope, the history of the Burmese War from the soldier's point of view. So far, be it Scott, Crosthwaite, Thirkell White, or Dautremer, the narrative is that of a civilian. The work of M. Dautremer is, doubtless, like those of M. Joseph Chailly, intended for the instruction of French colonial administrators, colonists, and men of business. It is a very useful statistical book; but, for my part, I must say that, were it not for Sir J. G. Scott's introduction and the two opening chapters, which are historical, I should be fain to leave the volume to the matter-of-fact persons for whom it seems to be intended. The very illustrations are irritating, being mere generalizations. "A Pagoda," "Cigar Girls," "A Shan Sawbwa," "The Entrance to a Shrine," are little more than abstractions. Our first instinct is to ask: "Where?" "Who?" "What name?" "What shrine?" The frank admission on pp. 71-72 that French intrigue at Mandalay prompted the British annexation of Burma is interesting as coming from a Frenchman, though it is no news. He praises the patriotism of the French Consular agent, but argues, while Britain held the coast-line, the hinterland in the hands of France would have had no prospect of development or prosperity. "Our French agent did no more than hasten the annexation of what was left of the kingdom of Burma" are his concluding words.

As Intelligence Officer in 1887-88 with the Northern Shan column, I watched with interest years ago the progress of the projected railway from Mandalay to the Kunlon Ferry on the Salween. It proved a failure, and never went beyond Lashis. "The vast sums expended on the Mandalay-Lashis Railway: . . . have not been repaid," is Sir Charles Crosthwaite's verdict. The coal of the Shan plateau is, M. Dautremer tells us, of no account, but the petroleum of Burma is a valuable asset. As our new battleships are to be propelled by petrol, this

is well. The locomotives of Burma and the Shan states will also presumably be adapted to burn oil-fuel. The Indo-Chinese railways of the future must, as far as we can judge, enter Yunnan either through the Mishmi country beyond Sadiya, or through Kunlon and Tsumao. It is this latter route which Sir J. G. Scott (Introduction, p. 29) advocates, animadverting at the same time in scathing language on the "hebetudinous want of enterprise" of the Government of India, under which, he adds, Burma "should never have been" placed. There is a vast gulf in point of temperament between the natives of India and the Burmese, as Sir Herbert Thirkell White points out in his volume, which is the work of an expert of long experience. We all, in 1885-88, liked the Burmese people, and found them "singularly human, cheerful, and sympathetic." We therefore learn with regret that they are being elbowed out by the same natives of India who are giving such trouble in South Africa, and even threatening British Columbia. I remember well that in 1888 sepoy of native regiments were invited and encouraged to accept plots of land and to settle as agriculturists in the new province of Burma. Sir H. T. White says that the land is passing into the hands of alien non-agriculturists, and predicts the consequent deterioration of the Burmese race. We may also bear in mind that the Chinaman has come in in large numbers to oust the Burman from his own hereditary sphere and rights.

Posted to Lower Burma in 1878, Thirkell White had already been there seven years when Sir Harry Prendergast led a small army to the occupation of Mandalay. White followed in the company of Sir Charles Bernard, when early in 1886 Civil Government was proclaimed. When the Life of Sir George White appears, we shall have from his biographer an account of "The Pacification of Burma," which it will then be interesting to compare with the autobiographical narratives of Sir Charles Crosthwaite and Sir J. T. White.







